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·NUCLEAR· TIMES

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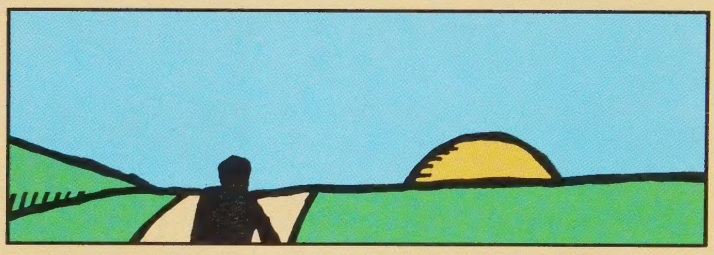

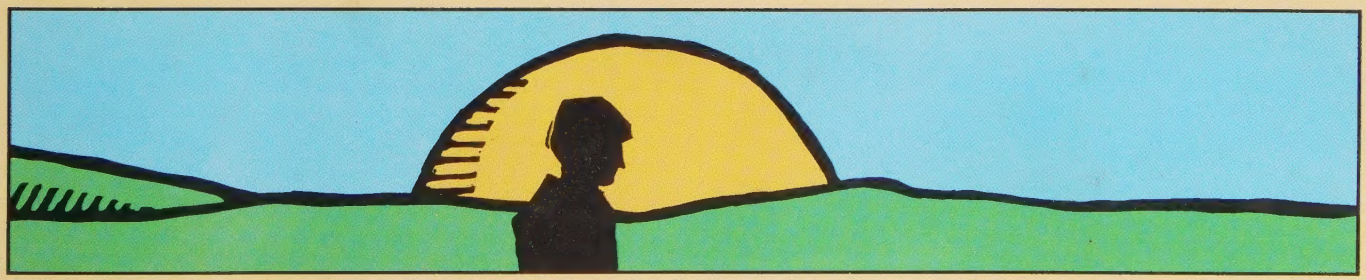

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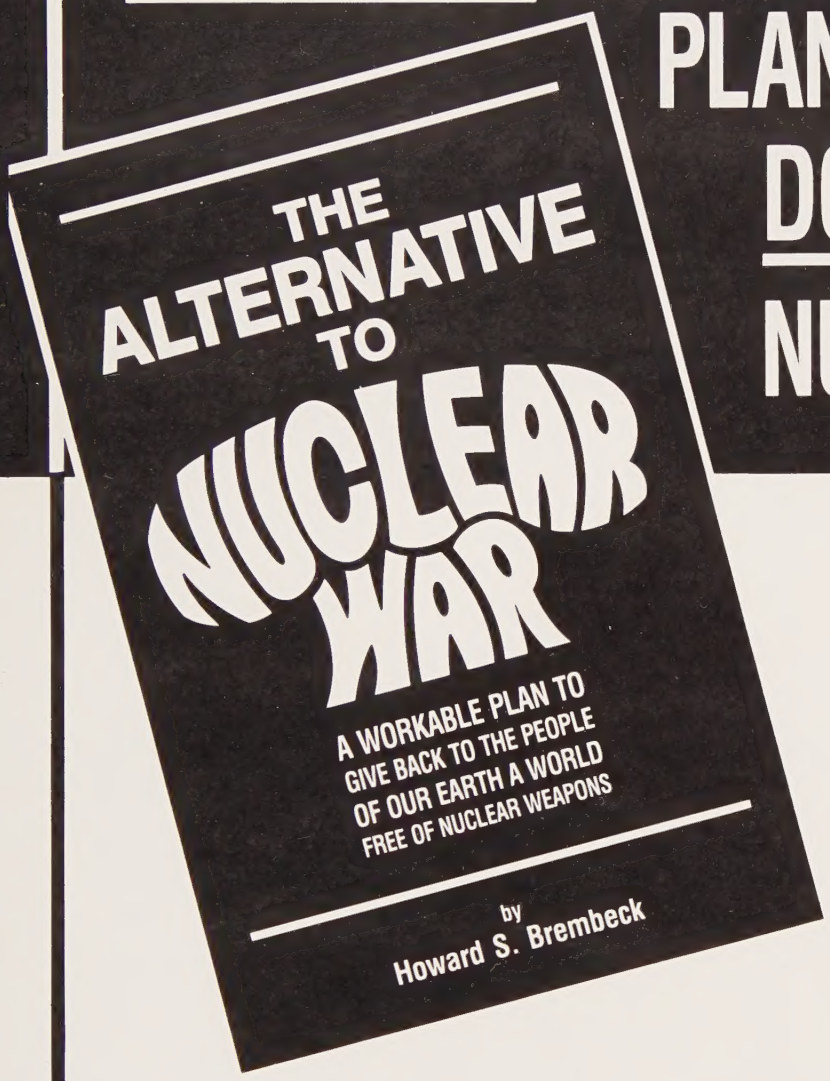

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CONTENTS

EARLY WARNINGS 4
NUCLEAR CULTURE . . . 7
A new column examines the Bomb's effect on the arts, entertainment and everyday life.
NATIONAL 8
A preview of 1986 arms control issues on Capitol Hill. Plus: The movement gears up for the '86 elections. And a new group makes civil disobedience a priority.
RESEARCH & ANALYSIS . 15
Introducing a regular feature covering research findings, new ideas and analysis from universities, think tanks and institutes.
STAR STRUCK 23
COVER 25
"The Search for Solutions:" Paths to greater security put forward by activists and analysts, inside the mainstream and out.
INTERACTIONS 34
A regular section of NUCLEAR TIMES brings you news from the national headquarters of eight movement organizations, written by the groups themselves.
IDEAS THAT WORK 38
RESOURCES 39
NOTES FROM ABROAD . . 41
CALENDAR 43

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Letter to our Readers

To our many new readers—welcome! To our long-time subscribers—we hope you enjoy the expanded *Nuclear Times.*

Nuclear Times is growing, in ways that will significantly improve the flow of information and ideas within the activist and analyst communities, between those communities and ultimately to the general public.

With this issue we have begun regular mailings to the memberships of eight national organizations: Architects, Designers and Planners for Social Responsibility; Citizens Against Nuclear War; Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy; Educators for Social Responsibility; the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign; Peace Links; Physicians for Social Responsibility and SANE.

As more and more members of these groups, and possibly other organizations, are added, paid circulation will easily surpass 100,000. At the same time we are increasing our mailings to researchers, analysts, academics and policymakers who are deeply involved with nuclear weapons and national security issues.

To meet the interests and needs of all of our readers we are introducing two new and important sections of the magazine:

"Research & Analysis" (pages 15 to 22 of this issue) presents lively, up-to-date coverage of important studies, new ideas and timely analysis that are coming out of the nation's universities, think tanks and research institutes at an unprecedented rate. This section will not serve as a vehicle for the full-fledged presentation of new findings or in-depth analysis; many excellent publications already serve this function. Rather, we will report on new currents of thought and point readers to primary sources of information.

"Interactions" (pages 34 to 37 of this issue), a cooperative venture, is comprised of columns written for *Nuclear Times* by the eight organizations taking part in our new circulation program. Every issue the eight groups will be able to communicate directly with their own members, with members of other organizations, with the research community, and with the public-at-large."Interactions" reflects and, we hope, will nourish the spirit of cooperation that has been growing in the activist community.

This combination of new information and new readership means that communication between experts and activists should improve significantly, enhancing each community's effectiveness.

We are also pleased to present, starting with this issue, the product of one of the new campus-based research projects: "Deadline," a 12-page newsletter inserted into *Nuclear Times* by the Center on War, Peace and the News Media at New York University. In addition, as long-time readers may have already noticed, we have increased the number of pages in *Nuclear Times*, redesigned many of the sections and printed the entire magazine on glossy paper.

Our cover stories this issue express why the activist/analyst link-up is so important. "The Search for Solutions," the first of a two-part series, describes efforts, in both the activist and academic communities, to find a long-term vision of a safer world. Featured in this section is a dialogue between a noted academic and a veteran peace activist. This kind of direct communication illustrates what the expanded *Nuclear Times* is attempting to accomplish.

We are excited about this expansion. In some ways it is unprecedented. It recognizes that hundreds of thousands of activists, educators, scholars, researchers and policymakers are all striving (in often very different ways) for a common goal—the prevention of nuclear war and the end of the nuclear arms race.

The fact that individuals—even within the same community or organization—often embrace different visions, strategies or political positions challenges us to illuminate the key issues and discover ways for the activist and analyst communities to move forward, together. We invite your reactions and suggestions as we begin to survey this exciting new terrain.

Richard Healey
Executive Director

Greg Mitchell
Editor

EARLY WARNINGS

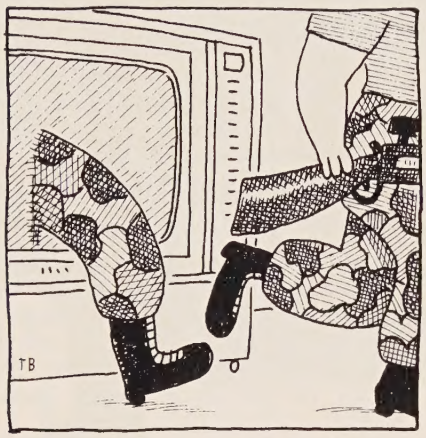
SHUTTLE TRAGEDY: "I was responsible for every shuttle launch from the second one through our last one, and these are kind of my badges, of the team's badges of accomplishments. I guess what that does is persuade me with this great faith in just what American technology can do, and therefore I am a little dismayed at some of the critics who keep saying we can't do something." —Lt. Gen. James Abrahamson, director, Strategic Defense Initiative Office, in testimony before the House Appropriations Committee, May 9, 1984.

AN AMERIKAN TRAGEDY: Marc Cooper has seen the future, and it does not work. Cooper, a writer and radio journalist in Los Angeles, recently was given the entire script to the on-again ABC television miniseries *Amerika*. His source, he says, was "a weak link in the production chain." The 12-hour film, written and directed by Donald Wrye and scheduled for airing in 1987, portrays a Soviet takeover of the United States.

After digesting all 1200 pages of the script, Cooper told us: "I wasn't prepared for this at all. The sensibility is conservative fringe, and it's quite pernicious. The real enemies in the story are not the Soviets, who are portrayed as rather skillful, attractive individuals—sort of like the aliens in *V*—but liberals who give the country away. People who favor such things as rent control, abortion and other liberal causes form something called the New American Progressive Party, which eagerly collaborates with the Russians. In dramatic classroom scenes, teachers who have been totally compromised by the Soviets denounce the nuclear arms race, sweatshops and the military-industrial complex. This discredits legitimate liberal sentiments by associating them with Soviet propaganda.

"And when courageous American patriots rebel, guess who is called on to crush them? Not the Red Army. *United Nations* troops. Old Glory has been torn down and in its place stands—and I quote now from page 16 of the script—'a new and strange flag, frightening because it seems so benign. Against a blue background are crossed Soviet and American flags. Suspended in the crux is the white globe and olive branch, symbol of the United Nations.'

"I also found interesting that ABC has stated that the Soviet takeover in *Amerika* does not involve nuclear war. Well, it's true, there's no *war*. The Soviets simply explode four nuclear bombs 250 miles above the U.S., throwing our communication systems out of whack. But all in all, *Amerika* is pretty much of a soap opera. It's set in the mid-1990s in Milford, Kansas, a fictional town. Devlin Milford, scion



TOM BLOOM

of the original landowners of the town, is sent to a re-education camp. When he gets out he joins the armed resistance, and delivers several sermons extolling fundamentalist Americanism. He's the hero, naturally. Then there's Marion, a soulless bureaucrat who sleeps with Russian generals and sends her teenage son to re-education camp; and Peter, a well-meaning liberal who fruitlessly tries to reform the system from within. The show closes with KGB troops machine-gunning the puppet U.S. Congress and dynamiting the Capitol. But all is not lost. Devlin Milford's underground militia swears vengeance—a spin-off series, perhaps.

"This all sounds pretty awful to me. But, you know, when word got around that I had the script I got a call from one of the leading agents in Hollywood. 'You've *got* to let me see that script,' he said, 'All my clients are *dying* to be in it.'"

HAWKING PEACE: Richard Perle, assistant secretary of defense, is a member of the board. So are Bruce Weinrod, a director of the Heritage Foundation, W. Scott Thompson, a founding member of the Committee on the Present Danger, and Evron Kirkpatrick, the husband of Jeane Kirkpatrick. They are all directors of the U.S. Institute of Peace, once known as the National Peace Academy. In February the board of directors met for the first time, to hire staff and shape the programs of the first American government institution dedicated to "promoting international peace and the resolution of international conflict without the use of violence."

One-quarter of the Institute's budget ($4 million in the first year) will support research programs in other institutions. The rest will be used to hire scholars and "leaders in peace" for stints of up to two years. They will pursue studies and develop educational and training programs for people in government (as well as the private sector and voluntary associations).

President Reagan disapproved of the Institute to begin with, but signed the Peace Act into law in October 1984 because it was part of a Defense Authorization package that he didn't want to veto. From the list of 100 names recommended by the U.S. Peace Institute Campaign for the 15 board positions, the President selected only John Norton Moore, a law professor at the University of Virginia (he now serves as chairman). Ex-officio members, in addition to Perle, include Max Kampelman of the State Department, Richard Lawrence of the National Defense University, and Kenneth Adelman of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Although the board includes no women, no minorities, no business or labor leaders, and no professional practitioners in the field of conflict resolution (a Peace Act requirement), the nominees breezed through the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee in October. The board nominations offered by Reagan drew little attention from the peace movement and were not opposed by the U.S. Peace Institute Campaign, which included 45 national organizations (such as the YMCA and the United Methodist Church) and 45,000 individuals who endorsed its goals.

INVITATION TO DISASTER?: New chapters in President Reagan's love-hate relationship with the SALT II Treaty will unfold later this year as weapons programs and SALT II limits come into conflict. Reagan, who charged in 1980 that SALT II was "fatally flawed," has nevertheless maintained a policy of "not undercutting" the treaty since taking office. But new weapons dismantlements will be required in 1986 if the United States is to remain in compliance, and Defense Secretary Weinberger and top aide Richard Perle are once again planning SALT II's demise.

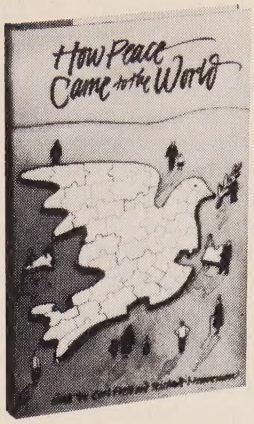
Weinberger and Perle were unable to convince Reagan to drop SALT II last summer, when the launching of the seventh

Trident submarine required the dismantlement of an older Poseidon sub to keep the United States under SALT II's limit of 1200 MIRVed missiles. But they did get Reagan to agree to a new policy of "proportionate responses" to Soviet treaty violations. Weinberger recently sent Reagan a report the Pentagon called "RSVP" (Responses to Soviet Violations Policy). Among the options reportedly proposed: drydocking, rather than dismantling, two old Poseidon submarines when the eighth Trident submarine is put to sea in May, and replacing some single-warhead Minuteman II missiles with triple-warhead Minuteman IIIs. Those actions, if undertaken together, would constitute a deliberate violation of SALT II and would probably propel the Soviet Union to undertake its own responses—proportionate or not.

Even if more moderate elements in the Administration prevail this spring, Weinberger and Perle will get another crack at wrecking SALT II in August, when the 121st B-52 bomber will be equipped with air-launched cruise missiles and new dismantlements will be required.

FRESH ACCESS: A new reference service is being offered to the peace movement this month. But credibility, says director Laurie Fulton, will come only "when someone sees that within an hour he or she had a question answered and didn't have to do or pay anything to get it."

Access, as the new service is called, was launched in response to a survey of movement groups which uncovered a crying need for a central information referral outlet. Before answering any questions, Access's staff in Washington, D.C. spent four months surveying the resources of over 100 peace groups, academic institutions, and think tanks. Books, films, working papers and articles were then catalogued to be stored on a computerized database system (which is not yet completed). In addition to international security issues, Access maintains material on grassroots organizing, media relations and other topics useful to organizers. Some articles and fact sheets are kept on hand for distribution; otherwise callers are told how and where to purchase or find the resources. For information on Soviet treaty violations, for example, a caller during Access's recent test period was referred to Michael Krepon at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington, D.C. and an article in *Science '85* magazine. Another caller simply wanted to know the percentage of Soviet citizens who belong to the Communist Party. Access's answer: seven percent. To receive help yourself, call Access at 202-328-2323.



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edited by Earl W. Foell and Richard A. Nenneman
Foreword by Kurt Waldheim

It can happen. In the year 2010 the world is at peace and the threat of nuclear devastation has vanished. How did this come about? Through the imaginative ideas of forty men and women—lawyers, doctors, professors, conflict research specialists, and others who think about peace in a different way, who do not accept that war is inevitable. The wealth of original and workable approaches to peace presented in this book were selected from entries to "Peace 2010," a contest sponsored by *The Christian Science Monitor.* Earl W. Foell, Editor in Chief of the *Monitor* and Richard A. Nenneman, the *Monitor*'s Managing Editor, have written introductions to scenarios that range from catastrophe and activism to insight and diplomacy.

"The book is a superb reminder that people everywhere owe a duty to the children to safeguard the future."—International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, recipients of the 1985 Nobel Peace Prize

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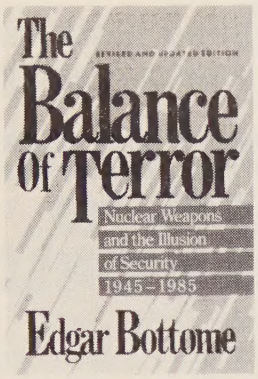

The Balance of Terror

Nuclear Weapons and the Illusion of Security, 1945–1985

Revised and Updated Edition

Edgar Bottome

This vitally important book offers an even-handed analysis of the myth and realities behind American involvement in the international arms race. Edgar Bottome argues persuasively that the United States has not only led in the development of military technology and weapons production throughout the Cold War, but—through promoting successive myths such as the "bomber gap" and the "missile gap"—has been fundamentally responsible for every major escalation of the arms race. Analyzing the new myths created by the Reagan Administration such as the "spending gap" and the "window of vulnerability," Bottome contends that Americans' persistent belief in the "defensive" character of the nuclear arms buildup in this country is the chief deterrent to slowing, stopping, or reversing the arms race.

"The new edition of THE BALANCE OF TERROR is exactly what we need now: a wonderfully clear, factually precise, and analytically bold account of the nuclear arms race. Edgar Bottome has done an immense service to the general public by putting in plain language, and yet with meticulous data, the fascinating connection between weapons policy and foreign policy over the last forty years."—Howard Zinn

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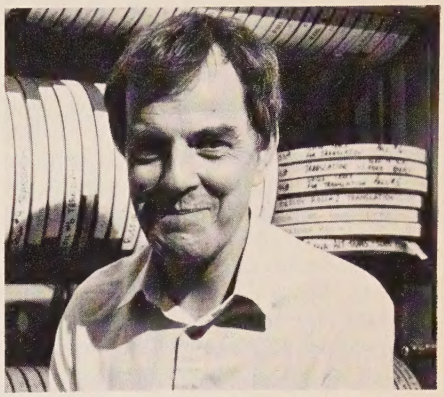
EARLY WARNINGS

WAR GAME: THE SEQUEL: "We didn't want to make another *Day After* or *Threads*," says Peter Wintonick, who coordinated production of the Canadian segment for Peter Watkins' new film, *The Journey*. The film—originally called *The War Game 2 Project* in reference to Watkins' landmark film *The War Game*—consists mostly of "open discussions with families around the world about the arms race," says Wintonick.

Watkins filmed segments of *The Journey* in 12 countries using only local fundraising and film crews. The "families" range from a women's collective in Mozambique to groups (or actual families) in Japan, Sweden, the Soviet Union and the United States. In some discussions, people responded to questions raised on film in other segments, becoming part of a global forum. Watkins also filmed some communities acting out scenes related to the nuclear weapons debate. In Utica, New York, says Scott MacDonald, who co-produced that city's episode, a black and Puerto Rican neighborhood tested civil defense procedures by trying to evacuate to a mostly white and conservative town 20 miles north.

Using facilities at the Canadian National Film Board, Watkins will finish editing the film this summer, according to Wintonick. The final version will probably be over four hours long. (One-hour segments may be available.) The biggest problem with the film, says Wintonick, has been the lack of financial support, especially from the United States. Ken Nolley, who helped organize shooting in Portland, Oregon and Seattle, Washington, says that local groups jealously guarded their fundraising turf. "I can understand and sympathize with their concerns but it was really frustrating," Nolley says. "It felt like we were getting stonewalled by the peace movement." □



Watkins: Filming the nuclear family

Items for this section were contributed by David Halperin, Alex Miller and Susan Subak.

Blips

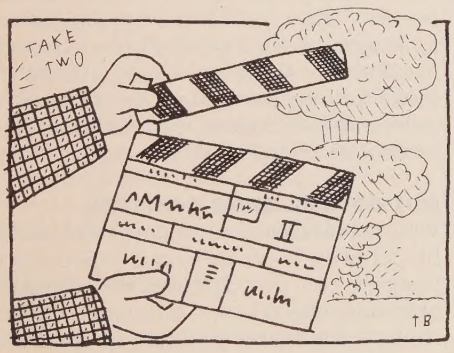
The **MX missile** will go on trial next month in Federal District Court in Lincoln, NE. Western Solidarity, the state of Colorado and 40 other plaintiffs have filed a lawsuit that challenges the missile deployment on constitutional and environmental grounds . . . . **Groups in Oregon** are collecting signatures to get an initiative on the ballot this November that calls for a 30 percent tax credit to companies that convert from production of nuclear weapons to consumer products . . . . The arms control rumor mill in Washington, D.C., has it that **Richard Perle** is pressing hard for an SDI test that will blatantly violate the ABM treaty and force the Soviets to renounce the treaty themselves . . . . Scientists are now raising questions about plans to send nuclear-powered satellites, each fueled by nearly 50 pounds of plutonium-238, aboard future **space shuttle** flights (the Challenger was scheduled to take one of them up in May). Some scientists at the Jet Propulsion Lab in Pasadena, California, are not convinced that precautions protecting the radioactive cargo from explosions are sufficient. A cloud of plutonium particles released over Cape Canaveral could "turn parts of Florida into an area that's uninhabitable," according to radiation expert John Gofman . . . . During April, or "Wildfire Month," the **Roosevelt Center** in Washington, D.C., will organize dozens of grass-roots community events and introducing new educational materials on nonproliferation issues . . . . A **"Rambo"** TV cartoon series will start in April, coinciding with the arrival of the Rambo doll. Creators claim that the TV Rambo will be an SDI-like figure: he'll only use violence against objects, not people . . . . The Moscow premiere of **William Gibson's** antinuclear play, "Handy-Dandy," is slated for June . . . . Celebrities who've signed up to join the **PRO-Peace March**, now underway, include Kevin Kline, Kevin Bacon, Paul Newman and Kris Kristofferson . . . . The **Navy's "homeport" plan**—dispersing nuclear-armed combat ships to new bases around the country—faces choppy seas in the wake of a new General Accounting Office report released in late February. It questioned the strategic value of the scheme, and said it wasn't worth the cost, and accused the Navy of reducing published cost estimates.

Nuclear Culture

Has Hollywood turned its back on nuclear apocalypse? According to one industry observer, the film versions of two recent novels presenting nuclear war scenarios, *Warday* and *Trinity's Child*, are in "turn-around" — studio parlance for dead in the water. *Warday* was to be directed by Costa-Gavras, who made *Missing* and *Z*. *Trinity's Child* was a project of Jane Fonda's film company.

"The studios are saying that they don't want to do nuclear films," reports Josh Baran, a public relations specialist in Los Angeles who keeps a watch on this front. "They say this has all been played out and that the nuclear war issue cannot work at the box office." One film concerning nuclear testing in Nevada, *Desert Bloom*, starring Jon Voight and produced by Johnny Carson's company, is scheduled to be released this year, however.

The movie that most concerns arms control advocates, the back-from-the-dead *Amerika*, is proceeding apace. *Amerika* was "definitely killed" by ABC prior to the Soviet protest, according to a source familiar with the network's operation. "The Soviets gave ABC a reason to go ahead with the project," he explains. "Now they can promote it as the film the Soviets don't want you to see."



TOM BLOOM

Soviet troops invade Iran in support of rebels in a civil war. Washington threatens military action. The Soviets proceed. The United States goes to DefCon 3. The Soviets proceed. Washington places its forces on DefCon 1, threatening nuclear attack. Moscow backs down . . . and loses a hefty 3343 "prestige" points.

This is just one "exchange" between the United States and Soviet Union that occurred during a playing of "Balance of Power," a hot-selling nuclear war game for Macintosh computers. But don't call it that in front of Karen Novak, manager of communications of Mindscape, the software company that produces the game. "It's a *peace* game," she asserts. Actually, she is right, for the only way to win is to maintain peace by steering the United States or the Soviet Union through eight years of crises and amassing "prestige" points, that reflect each country's standing around the globe. If a nuclear war is triggered, both sides lose.

The game is complex and hard to win. Blowing up the world is disconcertingly easy. The computer-generated scenarios are realistic for the most part, though on one occasion, military aid to Mexico eventually caused what some might consider a rather unlikely nuclear war.

In its first two months, the game has sold over 6,000 copies, an impressive amount, and earned an article in a recent *New York Times* Sunday magazine. Mindscape has sent copies to war colleges, government figures and some peace groups.

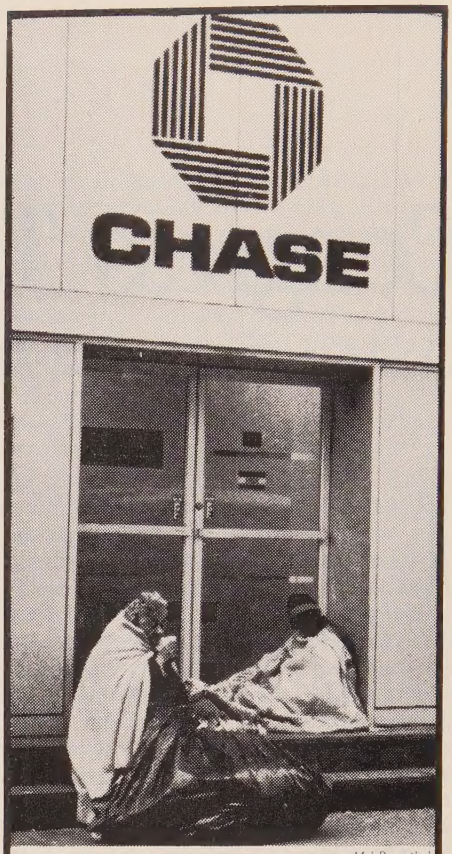
Peace activists might quarrel with aspects of the game. Despite its peaceful intentions, it is based on U.S.-Soviet competition. For instance, author of the game Chris Crawford writes in the manual, "if the government [of another nation] seems unalterably opposed to you, you should (with great regret) seek to eliminate it."

But Crawford's game contains some solid lessons. For instance, he counsels players to be wary of advice from experts. During crises, tips from the State Department and a Soviet institute appear on the screen. The catch is that the advice is not always correct.

Corporate sponsorship has been everywhere lately, from the Olympics to Live Aid to the renovation of the Statue of Liberty. Prior to the start of its cross-country trek in March, PRO-Peace attempted to sign on corporate sponsors, too. Backpacking, health food, software, and other "alternative" companies were approached, but it was too late to get a piece of their 1986 budgets. PRO-Peace also went looking for more mainstream firms, including Pepsi-Cola, according to Torie Osborn, director of communications for the march.

Osborn acknowledges the obstacles facing an effort to entice corporations to back an activity that challenges the Administration's nuclear weapons policy. Nevertheless, while the march continues, PRO-Peace will keep courting the corporations. Does that mean we may see corporate logos on the road with PRO-Peace marchers? "We have a vision of what the campsites look like," Osborn explains. "There's no way McDonald's arches or a Pepsi logo will be plastered on the tents. We're sensitive to our visuals."

– David Corn



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Congress Targets New Budget

ASAT win, deficit pressures raise hopes on The Hill

By David Halperin

Last December Congress gave the world a surprise Christmas present: the first significant mutual constraint on the superpower arms race since SALT II was signed in 1979. In a fiscal year 1986 catchall spending bill, Congress mandated a ban on the testing of an antisatellite weapon (ASAT) against objects in space. Unless Moscow abandons its ASAT moratorium or Congress passes new legislation to undo the U.S. ban, there will be, in effect, an ASAT freeze. "We *created* arms control," says Robert Sherman, an aide to Representative Les AuCoin, co-author of the ASAT ban. "This is the first part of the freeze." The Reagan Administration had planned two ASAT tests this year.

"A few conferees accomplished more on arms control in a few hours than the Reagan Administration accomplished in five years," says Christopher Paine, an aide to Representative Edward Markey.

The Administration appears determined to go forward with the ASAT and wants to spend $367 million for procurement and $504 million for development over the next two fiscal years (huge increases over present spending). But so long as the congressional ban remains in effect, testing sufficient to give the Air Force confidence in the weapon is unlikely.

But while arms control advocates on Capitol Hill were heartened by the ASAT victory, few believe that legislated arms control will extend to other weapons systems in the 1986 congressional session. Arms control lobbyists and sympathetic staffers on the Hill do believe, however, that increased budgetary pressures will give them strong leverage in restraining key programs. "The major dynamic is going to come from the deficit," says Raoul Rosenberg, associate director of policy and legislation at Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR).

Indeed the ASAT victory suggests that, while arguments about the destabilizing nature of weapons systems carry some weight, arguments about the high costs of those systems are generally at least as potent. The ASAT program, for which the taxpayers have already shelled out more than $4 billion, has encountered numerous cost increases, technical problems and delays. Even some advocates of an ASAT capability realize that the present ASAT system is a lemon.

Sherman cites the "moderate image" of ASAT arms control on Capitol Hill and the perceived urgency of halting the ASAT competition as additional factors leading to Congress's action. But he doubts that congressionally-mandated restraint can be extended to another key area in which President Reagan has explicitly ruled out negotiations—a comprehensive test ban (CTB) treaty. Rosenberg agrees, arguing that Congress would hesitate to intervene in an area such as nuclear testing that "gets much more at the heart of the arms race."

COMING TO A RESOLUTION

The efforts of arms control groups to promote the CTB, however, were given new life on January 15 when Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev announced, in offering his proposal for complete nuclear disarmament by the year 2000, a three-month extension of the Soviet moratorium on nuclear explosive testing. CTB advocates believe that the Gorbachev offer, combined with new Soviet concessions concerning on-site inspection and increasing public support in this country for a test ban, will force the Administration to reconsider its opposition to CTB talks—or pay a political price.

"All of the excuses for not agreeing to a test ban are getting harder to put forward," says Karen Mulhauser, executive director of Citizens Against Nuclear War.

Peace groups are stepping up grassroots activities to capitalize on the continuing Soviet test moratorium. SANE, PSR, the Freeze Campaign, Greenpeace, and Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament are encouraging city and town councils, and state legislatures, to adopt test ban resolutions. The groups have agreed on common language for the resolutions, which call on the President to respond to the Soviets' test moratorium by suspending U.S. tests. They also ask Congress to enact a halt if the President does not.

Congressional action has focused on House Joint Resolution 3, introduced by Representatives Berkley Bedell, Jim Leach, and Markey. The non-binding resolution calls on the President to propose to the Soviet Union immediate resumption of comprehensive test ban treaty negotiations. The Senate adopted, by a vote of 77-22, language similar to that in the House resolution in a 1984 amendment to defense authorization legislation. Recently, Senators Claiborne Pell and John Danforth introduced a new test ban resolution which emphasizes verifiability.

Despite the congressional support for a CTB implicit in the popularity of these test ban resolutions, Capitol Hill staffers see little hope for a binding, legislated nuclear test ban similar to the constraint placed on ASATs. In case Congress changes its mind, a vehicle for such a ban already exists in a bill introduced by Representative Pat Schroeder. Under that legislation, if Reagan does not declare a testing moratorium, Congress would cut off all funds for nuclear testing for six months unless the President certified that the Soviet Union had resumed nuclear tests.

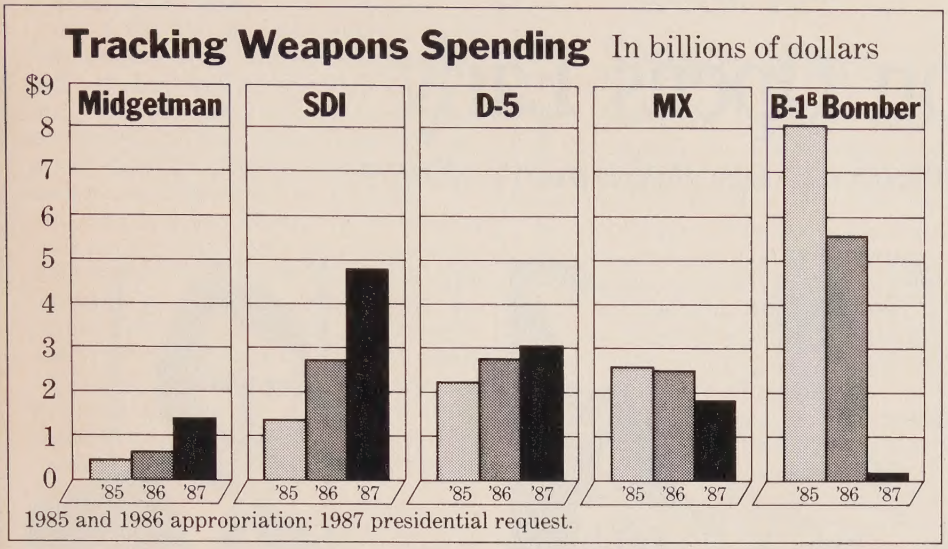
BUDGETING ARMS CONTROL

While non-binding resolutions are probably all arms controllers can expect from Congress on the CTB this year, budget pressures should put more concrete restraints (if not cement shoes) on other elements of the Administration's buildup.

Most arms control lobbyists and Democratic lawmakers have not rushed to provide an alternative to the $320 billion Reagan military budget. Instead, they will initially put the onus on Reagan to defend his buildup. But if the Administration appears unwilling to compromise, its critics may soon propose alternative funding levels.

Even if the Supreme Court upholds a February 7 federal court decision and declares that a key provision of the Gramm-Rudman balanced budget legislation is unconstitutional—and Congress decides not to implement Gramm-Rudman across-the-

David Halperin is Nuclear Times*'s Washington correspondent.*



VIRGINIA BUBEK

board cuts itself—a growing sense of cost-consciousness on Capitol Hill should provide leverage for battles against new nuclear weapons systems. Strategic weapons programs that normally breeze through congressional votes—such as the Midgetman land-based missile, the D-5 (Trident II) submarine-based missile and perhaps even the "stealth" bomber—may come under increased scrutiny this year, according to Paine.

As the defense budget constricts, legislators may increasingly bear in mind that the D-5 will be the most expensive strategic weapon in history, with a price tag (suggested by Congressional Research Service estimates) of more than $50 billion for 958 missiles on 24 submarines. While no one expects Congress to kill the program, there is a possibility that an effort to put a numerical cap on the number of Trident missiles and boats procured could be successful, as it was in the MX debate.

MAKING SDI SUFFER

But the fiercest battle may come over Star Wars, which most arms control groups have made their primary target for 1986.

This opposition means, in the view of PSR's Rosenberg, "at the very minimum going for a freeze" on SDI funding, which would keep spending for fiscal 1987 at the 1986 figure of $2.75 billion. Star Wars foes want to restrict SDI as much as possible in the face of evidence that the Administration is pulling out all the stops to fund the program. President Reagan took advantage of a special exemption in Gramm-Rudman to protect fiscal year 1986 SDI funds from across-the-board cuts. For fiscal year 1987, the Administration is asking for about 4.8 billion.

Arms control lobbyists may benefit from the unusually candid remarks of a senior Pentagon official who, in response to a question about the potential impact of Gramm-Rudman at a White House press briefing, said: "It isn't clear that we will be suffering in SDI. One can always put SDI in the budget in such a way as to protect the program from across-the-board cuts. The point is, it is not uncommon to ask for more than one absolutely must have in anticipation of cuts."

John Pike, associate director for space policy at the Federation of American Scientists, is quick to identify the padding in the SDI budget. Each year, when SDI manager James Abrahamson goes to Capitol Hill to request money for the program, he presents a budget divided into only five program elements. Within those five elements are some three dozen separate projects, which, prior to the establishment of the SDI office, had been listed individually in budget requests. Pike argues they still should be listed, so that Congress and the public will know exactly what is being spent for each project. Without such monitoring, Pike says, "Abrahamson has total freedom to mix" within each program element. "Congress doesn't have to allow this and it shouldn't," Pike says.

Despite their desire for greater congressional oversight of SDI, Pike and other key lobbyists hesitate to support another potential approach to leashing the system: a congressional requirement that all SDI programs be consistent with the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty. Lobbyists worry that such an effort might, as one of them put it, "create a referendum on the ABM Treaty which we might lose."

Lobbyists and congressional aides feel they will have more success focusing on one of the most controversial elements of the U.S. strategic defense effort: the X-ray laser, an antimissile device to be powered by a nuclear explosion in space. President Reagan has long characterized Star Wars as "non-nuclear," but the Administration has received authority to spend over $280 million in fiscal year 1986 on Department of Energy nuclear research and testing programs related to SDI. Recently the SDI office asked that an additional $100 million be transferred to the Department of Energy for the X-ray laser program. Transfer of about $60 million of those funds would require explicit congressional approval, according to Christopher Paine.

The X-ray laser has come under attack in Congress and in the press for an array of reasons, beyond its nuclear component and high cost. Paine says the program has left "a trail of malfeasance." Critics, including Senator Charles Mathias and Lawrence Livermore Laboratory physicist Ray Kidder, charge that there has been an effort to cover up failures in the program. Markey and Representative Bill Green have commissioned a General Accounting Office study of the program, and Markey's subcommittee on Energy Conservation and Power is planning an investigation.

HEADING FOR THE FALL

Farther down the road, the arms control debate on Capitol Hill will be influenced by the two major political events of the year: the second Reagan-Gorbachev summit, to be held in Washington on a date yet to be determined, and the November congressional elections.

Arms controllers worry that the President will be able to use the impending summit to his advantage, as he did last year in delaying House action on the test ban resolution. Despite the fact that last year's summit only reinforced the basic deadlock on superpower talks, key swing votes are likely to once again be swayed by the argument that cuts in strategic programs will undercut the President's bargaining position with Gorbachev. "We certainly don't anticipate an easy year," says Rosenberg.

Lobbyists are optimistic, however, that the influence of the fall election could balance out the effects of the summit on congressional votes, since public concerns with excessive defense spending and the danger of nuclear war remain high. "The arms control community has in the past been pretty powerful around election time," Rosenberg points out. "In 1986, as in 1984," Council for a Livable World's lobbyist Martin Hamburger predicts, "you're going to see a lot of hawks become born-again arms controllers." □

Election Season Opens Early

PACs refine strategies: Donations up, volunteers down?

By Joan Walsh

Antinuclear electoral plans for 1986 are at once more ambitious and more cautious than they were two years ago. Movement PACs hope to raise more money and mobilize more volunteers than in '84, but put those resources to work in fewer, more promising races. "We're all going to do much better targeting this year," says Jerry Hartz, SANE PAC director.

The electoral position of arms control advocates is considerably improved over 1984. There's no presidential race to drain resources and enthusiasm, and fewer friendly incumbents facing tough challengers. Then there's the line-up of freshman senators elected in 1980's conservative sweep—11 of the 15 hawks who won that year are considered vulnerable in '86. "People are really energized by the opportunities," says Nancy Donaldson, Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament (WAND) PAC political director.

Yet with those advantages, the PACs may be working in a less favorable political context. The perception that the peace movement has lost some of its vitality will make recruiting volunteers more difficult this year, some activists predict. There's no overriding issue like the freeze to rally supporters and separate political friend from foe. The PACs' professed commitment to actually electing their endorsed candidates—as opposed to using elections simply to raise issues or build the movement—means in some races they must be ready to subordinate their arms control priorities to campaign strategy. And the second Reagan-Gorbachev summit, which may be held right before or just after the November balloting, will be a wild card all year long.

Senate races in Pennsylvania, Missouri, Vermont and South Dakota are getting a lot of early attention (*see sidebar*). In addition, movement PACs expect to make major efforts on behalf of Senate candidates John Evans in Idaho, Brock Adams in Washington, Wyche Fowler in Georgia and Tim Wirth in Colorado—and work to protect incumbent Senators Dale Bumpers of Arkansas and Alan Cranston of California.

Candidates Les AuCoin (right) and Tom Daschle (bottom). Freeze canvass in Minnesota (top left).

NO PANACEAS

Few innovative shifts in strategy are predicted in peace PAC work this year. The most important difference, directors say, is getting an earlier start than in 1984.

Voter registration won't get the national emphasis it got in 1984. Post-election studies showed that the progressives' efforts were often more than matched by the conservatives, and that the newly registered voters did not vote in high numbers. This year registration efforts will be limited to races in which they can make a predictable difference.

The same is true of efforts geared toward the women's vote, 1984's other unrealized panacea. "There's no question that support for our issues breaks down along gender lines, and that women tend to take the lead in our activist programs," says Chip Reynolds, Freeze Voter director. "But our approach this year will be more sophisticated—we're not going to sponsor 'Freeze Outreach to Women' events."

Freeze Voter plans to stick to its strategy of "in-kind" contributions of volunteer and professional help, rather than making direct cash donations. But it will stress Senate races over House contests this year, and tailor its plans to the needs of individual campaigns, Reynolds says. All of the peace PACs, however, are constrained by the geographic and political diversity of the most promising states. Although South Dakota, Georgia, Alabama and Idaho are politically vulnerable, for instance, those states aren't exactly bastions of peace movement support. Freeze Voter is looking for ways to share the resources of strong states that don't have key races with less well-organized (but more critical) campaigns in other states.

In trying to adapt its programs to the needs of specific campaigns, Freeze Voter will provide more variety in its contributions. In most of its targeted states in '84, Freeze Voter set up door-to-door canvasses to do voter registration, identification, and fundraising. This year the emphasis on mobilizing a lot of volunteer campaign workers might in some campaigns give way to funding just a few political professionals.

That's due partly to a recognition that volunteers will be a scarcer commodity this year. "Compared to other issue areas

we're stronger," Reynolds says, "but it's going to take professionals to mobilize our volunteers this year."

All of the PAC directors share a sense that *how* they frame nuclear weapons and defense issues will be crucial to their success. "In some states we'll be focusing on economics, in other states on national security," Reynolds reveals. "We're going to have more diversity in our message."

SANE PAC's Jerry Hartz, who worked on Tom Harkin's successful Iowa Senate campaign in 1984, predicts his group will focus on military spending cuts. "Polls say people believe the time has come for cuts, and many candidates are making it a promise," he says. Hartz would like to see nuclear testing become a widely-debated issue, but doesn't expect it will get the necessary voter, candidate and media attention to make it one.

The consensus seems to be that this year the peace PACs themselves can't hope to set electoral agendas for candidates they support. Comments Hartz: "I think we have to be satisfied endorsing good progressive candidates and getting them to make commitments on our issues in advance."

MEDIA PAC

Unlike Freeze Voter, SANE will be dividing its resources about evenly between direct cash contributions to candidates and funding staff workers. In addition to the common list of Senate races, SANE will also target some House seats — trying to protect New York's Bob Mrazek, Oregon's Les AuCoin, and Pennsylvania's Peter Kostmayer, among others, and help North Carolina Democrat James Clark win back the seat he lost in '84.

As part of this process, SANE will be stressing links with other progressive constituencies, from local Democratic Party organizations to Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition. SANE Executive Director David Cortright has boldly advocated direct alliances between the Rainbow Coalition and the peace movement, an idea that most groups have resisted so far. To that end, SANE PAC may work with the Rainbow Coalition on voter registration in southern states, particularly North Carolina and Georgia. Campaigns to replace outgoing Representatives Barbara Mikulski and Parren Mitchell in Maryland, and Wyche Fowler in Georgia — State Senator Julian Bond has declared for that seat — could provide peace activists with the opportunity to work with black groups and the Rainbow Coalition to elect black progressives, Hartz believes.

WAND expects to have a higher profile than in 1984; as a member of the Women's Roundtable, a coalition of groups that launched the Women's Vote Project in 1983, WAND will participate in national

Four Key Senate Races

In 1984 strong antinuclear support was crucial for Pennsylvania Congressman **Bob Edgar** who won reelection that year by all of 412 votes. Now he is looking to challenge well-financed Republican Senator **Arlen Specter** — but he has to beat a Democrat, State Auditor General **Don Bailey**, in Pennsylvania's May 20 primary to do it. This may be the year's earliest indicator of peace movement strength.

● Missouri Lieutenant Governor **Harriett Woods** is attempting to replace retiring Democrat Thomas Eagleton.

Harriett Woods

Woods came within a percentage point of unseating Republican Senator John Danforth in 1982, in an underfunded challenge that embarrassed national Democratic leaders who hadn't taken her chance for victory seriously. This year, facing no primary opposition, Woods will have the unified support of the state and national party leadership. A strong advocate of the nuclear freeze, she has called for a nuclear weapons test suspension. She will face former Governor **Christopher "Kit" Bond**.

● Vermont's **Patrick Leahy** could be the most vulnerable peace movement ally. The only Democrat Vermont has ever elected to the Senate, Leahy has been an arms control stalwart since his election in 1974. But he narrowly escaped a brush with Reagan's coattails in 1980, winning reelection by only 2,800 votes. This year the Republicans are expected to field former Governor **Richard Snelling**, a well-to-do businessman and still one of the most popular public officials in the state.

● South Dakota Democratic Congressman **Tom Daschle** is considered a strong challenger to Republican Senator **James Abdnor**. Republicans and Democrats agree that Abdnor, who defeated George McGovern in 1980, is probably the weakest incumbent this year. Daschle, as South Dakota's lone representative in the House, has a statewide base and strong support for his work on behalf of family farmers.

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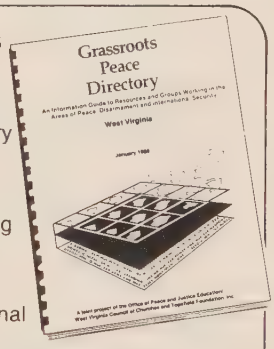

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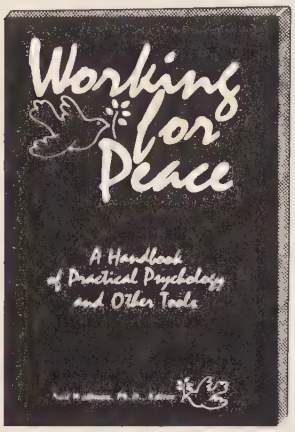

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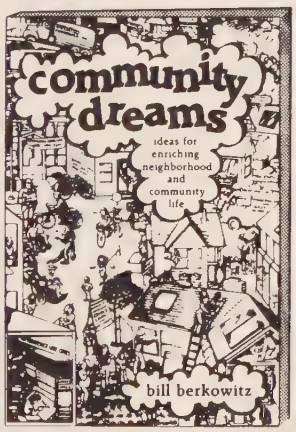

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plans to mobilize female voters. The PAC is also working with the National Women's Education Fund to sponsor electoral training seminars for women candidates and campaign staffs. "I think women are realizing that these strategies have to be long-term," WAND's Nancy Donaldson notes.

The massive media study WAND commissioned last year is helping guide the PAC's approach. "We're much more aware of how advertising and free media can complement one another, and that our message must be more coordinated," Donaldson says.

Council for a Livable World has also moved into media politics in a big way. It has produced a video for campaign staffs, outlining how to use arms control politics to media advantage and featuring clips from successful candidates' antinuclear commercials. The Council has also produced its own radio spots on Star Wars and nerve gas, which it provides free of charge to candidates it endorses.

But the Council's most dramatic contribution will likely be cash. It uses direct mail to raise money for candidates on the principle of "collective giving": donors write checks to an individual campaign but mail them to the Council, which bundles the checks and sends them to the candidate, in the name of its arms control goals. The method has been hugely successful—the Council's donor list has grown from 10,000 names in 1980 to 100,000 this year, and it expects to increase its fundraising from 1984's $1 million to $2 million this year. Already the Council has raised over $200,000 for candidates Edgar, Leahy, Woods, Evans, and Daschle. Peace PAC, the Council-affiliated PAC in House races, is just starting to mail appeals for Kostmayer, Mrazek, Idaho's John Stallings, and Cardiss Collins and Terry Bruce of Illinois, among others.

"We're ahead of our projections," says Council President Jerome Grossman. "Our general mailings aren't doing so well, but people seem very interested in electoral politics."

Grossman speculates, however, that the Council's fundraising success might mean less volunteers for the movement in '86. "It could be that people are so depressed that they don't want to do anything besides write a check," he observes. "There's a lot less going on this year at the local level."

Other peace PAC directors are less pessimistic. "There's certainly a trend toward taking care of social responsibilities by writing a check, rather than activism," Reynolds says. "Involvement in our issues may be down from where it was in the early '80s, when there was an incredible surge of people. But we still have a good solid base." □

Peace Test Unfreezes C.D.

BY RENATA RIZZO

The Freeze Campaign's decision to exclude civil disobedience from its 1986 agenda came as a bitter disappointment to many activists. But it also served as the catalyst for the birth of a new organization, the American Peace Test (APT), which will be devoted almost entirely to

Wrap-Up

According to a **Jobs with Peace** analysis, the average household in the United States will pay $5,767 in taxes this year, of which 54%, or $3103, will go to military spending (compared with $115 for housing and $126 for education). Jobs with Peace sponsored over 40 press conferences or events in February to respond to the new Reagan budget . . . . Parliamentarians for World Order has changed its name to **Parliamentarians' Global Action . . . . Nuclear Free America** has announced a boycott of Morton salt, which is produced by Morton Thiokol, a prime contractor for several nuclear weapons systems and Star Wars projects (as well as the ill-fated rocket booster for the space shuttle) . . . . The Navy has revealed, in response to an **American Friends Service Committee** lawsuit, that there were two serious accidents and 628 less serious accidents or "incidents" involving nuclear weapons from 1965 to 1985. The number of Navy nuclear accidents last year—39—was higher than the recent annual average . . . . Several leading **New England activists**, including former Freeze leader Randy Kehler, have launched a large-scale tax resistance campaign . . . . The Soviet Union has issued a 5-kopek postal stamp in honor of **Samantha Smith . . . . Business Executives for National Security** (BENS) has honored individuals who it says exemplify the spirit of President Eisenhower's "farewell address," which warned of the dangers posed by the military-industrial complex. Among the honorees: Senator Charles Grassley, Rep. Mel Levine and J.P. Grace (chairman of W.R. Grace) . . . . It was little noted that the Reagan Administration's rejection of the Soviet proposal to bar the spread of **chemical weapons** on February 11 marked the first outright rejection of an element of Gorbachev's **nuclear-disarmament-by-the-year-2000** plan.

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RE-ELECTION CHANCES OF SENATE CANDIDATES

SAFE	POTENTIALLY MARGINAL	MARGINAL	TOSS-UP OR OPEN SEAT
ADVOCATES			
John Glenn–OH Daniel Inouye–HI	Chris Dodd–CT Alan Dixon–IL Mark Andrews–ND Alan Cranston–CA Dale Bumpers–AR Fritz Hollings–SC		Pat Leahy–VT *Gary Hart–CO *Charles Mathias–MD *Tom Eagleton–MO
OPPONENTS			
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*Retiring–open seat

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Freeze Corps recruits are hard at work in the Pennsylvania, Vermont, and Missouri Senate races. New applicants are being received everyday and recruitment for the spring, summer and fall is well under way. If you or someone you know is ready, willing, and able to commit at least three months of their time to electoral organizing in a key Senate race, contact the national Freeze Voter office. Competition for placement is keen. Those accepted will receive transportation and room and board in the state to which they are assigned.

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There is still time to host a party, and if you are interested, contact the national office for further information and materials.

Regional Organizing Meetings

Several states have begun assistance programs for neighboring states with key Senate races. Meetings in Vermont and Missouri explored means of providing funds and personnel from other states to help with these key Senate races.

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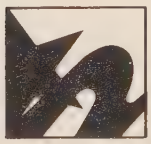

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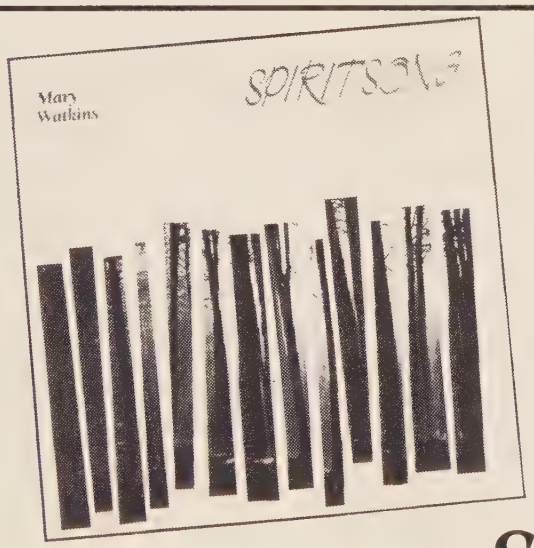

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nonviolent direct action. Now the two groups—determined to maintain an amicable relationship— are planning their first joint action.

The Freeze Campaign's executive committee has voted to sponsor the legal component of what organizers hope will be a major demonstration in support of a comprehensive test ban (CTB) slated for May 31 at the Nevada Test Site. Two days later the APT will sponsor a civil disobedience action at the Site, similar in method to last fall's campaign, when protesters were arrested for crossing an arbitrary Department of Energy "line" in the desert. APT organizers are also calling for local direct actions across the country on that date.

"We don't plan to fade away after June," says Nancy Hale, one of three full-time APT staff people. "And we don't want to be known as a group that works strictly at the Test Site." Accordingly, the APT is mounting a broad-based educational campaign on the history of U.S. nonviolent direct action, using a 21-person steering committee (representing 12 regions across the country) to disseminate the information. And an APT event in support of a CTB is scheduled in Washington, D.C., during the third week of March.

"We have to get the idea across that we're not just a bunch of new kids on the block who want to have our own name," says Hale. Members of the APT staff are all veteran Freeze organizers. Hale is a member of the Campaign's Direct Action Task Force; Jessie Cocks was, in 1984 and 1985, chairperson of the Pennsylvania Freeze; and Nancy Heskett, the APT's east coast coordinator, was a Campaign co-chair before resigning last November. Jim Driscoll, APT's fundraiser, continues to serve on the Campaign's executive committee and heads the Arizona Freeze Campaign. (He raised $16,000 by February 1.)

In order to gain wider public understanding and media attention for both their tactic and what it is trying to expose, APT members are committed to getting political figures and celebrities arrested. Representative Pat Schroeder, organizers report, agreed last fall to get arrested for a CTB—so long as it wasn't in Nevada. And at last November's Freeze convention, Representative Ed Markey "agreed in principle" to participate in the APT, according to Jim Driscoll.

Hale reports that she intends to solicit advice from such civil disobedience veterans as Reverend Tim McDonald of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in Atlanta, who got his feet wet in the Montgomery bus boycotts of the '60s. "He used to be on the Freeze Direct Action Task Force," one APT organizer says, "but he left because we were moving too slowly." □

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No-First-Use Debate Widens

Lawyers, study group consider new policies

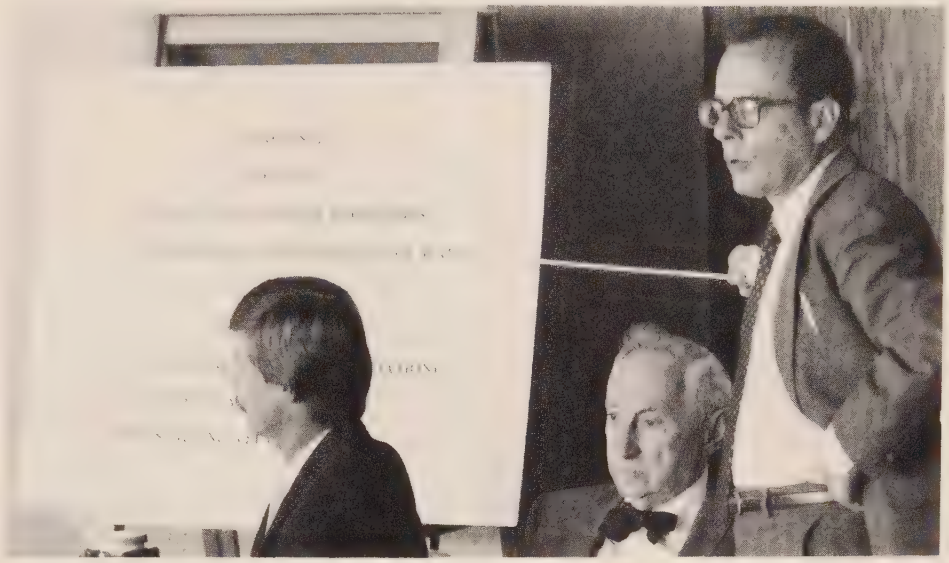
BY SUSAN SUBAK

Thirty legal scholars met in Washington, D.C. last November to discuss no-first-use. The same month, citizens in Boulder, Colorado passed a ballot initiative calling for a change in this country's first-use policy. And during the past two years thousands of people attending Council for a Livable World conferences have heard experts expound on the subject.

Until recently, the no-first-use debate was confined to academic and policy-making circles. Opinion polls showed that from 70 to 80 percent of the American public believed that no-first-use was *already* U.S. policy. Now it appears that interest in the no-first-use issue is growing in both analyst and activist circles.

"People are beginning to understand that the question of no-first-use is as important as the proposal for a nuclear weapons freeze," explains Morton Halperin, former deputy assistant secretary of defense. Halperin belongs to a working group of analysts who are studying the issue. Recently he helped organize a no-first-use educational project in Washington, D.C. as part of the Center for Education on Nuclear War. "Much too much time has been spent on debating what weapons should be built," Halperin says, "rather than on the fundamental question of when nuclear weapons are to be used, and to what purpose nuclear weapons are to serve other than to deter."

After simmering for almost 20 years, the no-first-use controversy came to a boil in the spring of 1982 when McGeorge Bundy, Robert McNamara, Gerard Smith, and George Kennan—now known as the "gang of four"—published an article in *Foreign Affairs*. They argued that a no-first-use policy may be desirable because it could preclude an irrational initiation of nuclear war and alleviate Soviet fears that the United States was gearing up for a war-winning capability. They attributed the current first-use policy to "an antiquated security guarantee" to Western Europe that was made at a time when the United States had a monopoly on nuclear weapons.



Jeremy Stone addresses a no-first-use conference

Their proposal was immediately attacked by a gang of four Germans—Karl Kaiser, Georg Leber, Alois Mertes, and Franz-Josef Schulze—who said that a no-first-use policy would indicate that the United States was softening its commitment to defend Western Europe, and would therefore make a conventional attack more likely.

The White House and the Pentagon responded to the proposal with an adamant defense of the *status quo* in Europe. Even the Catholic bishops, in their pastoral letter, said that a first-use policy might help to deter war. Walter Mondale, during his election bid in 1984, said that no-first-use was unworkable.

The original gang of four, however, have continued to meet, often over dinner, and have joined up with six other experts interested in the issue (not all of them advocates of no-first-use). A year and a half ago these 10 individuals formed a working group on no-first-use that is finishing up an extended study of the question.

The working group includes, in addition to Halperin and the original quartet, William Kaufmann of Harvard University, John Steinbruner of the Brookings Institution, Leon Sigal of Wesleyan University, Richard Ullman of Princeton University, and Paul Warnke, former chief SALT II negotiator. They are extending the debate to consider a no-first-use policy in the southern hemisphere, and are exploring proposals that could make a Soviet attack on Europe less likely.

While the Soviets declared a no-first-use policy in 1982, they have not implemented it with strategic changes. The United States should execute a no-first-use policy unilaterally, some members of the working group believe. "The no-first-use issue is something that we can change on our own without negotiating an agreement," says Halperin. Beyond a declaration, the policy would entail restructuring U.S. military forces: the MX, which could be useful in a first-strike scenario (and is also vulnerable to a first strike), would be withdrawn, and nuclear weapons would no longer be deployed near the front lines in Europe. "The Europeans tend to oppose a no-first-use declaration but support the policy issue of removing nuclear weapons from the front lines," says Halperin.

Much of the working group's new research demonstrates that nuclear weapons deployed in Europe could actually reduce the chances that the United States would win a conventional war. "It's a zero-sum game," says Madalene O'Donnell, the project coordinator for the working group,

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"since Congress imposes a ceiling on military forces in Europe. When nuclear weapons, such as ground-launched cruise missiles, are brought in, conventional forces are sent home."

The question of how a conventional war could escalate into a nuclear war has also drawn the interest of the international and constitutional law community. "There is a fair amount of consensus in the legal community that the threat to use nuclear weapons first violates the Nuremburg Principles, which are binding on the United States," says Daniel Arbess, executive director of the Lawyers' Committee on Nuclear Policy in New York City. "Escalating to the use of nuclear weapons during a conventional war would mean using forces disproportionate to the threat—which is a war crime," Arbess adds.

Thirty constitutional lawyers, convened by the Federation of American Scientists (FAS) and the Lawyers Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control (LANAC) last November, discussed whether a proposed statute to change the country's first-use policy followed the spirit of the U.S. constitution.

Most of the legal experts endorsed the statute as constitutional. The proposal, put forth by FAS Director Jeremy Stone, would ban the first use of nuclear weapons, and leave up to a congressional leadership committee the decision to rescind the ban. In the event of a conventional war, Stone argues, there should be time for a congressional committee to meet to discuss the possibility of using nuclear weapons. The assembled experts agreed that since the constitution gives the president the responsibility to use any weapons to answer a surprise attack on the United States, he may use nuclear weapons second, but in other circumstances only Congress has the right to decide whether to use nuclear weapons.

Objections came from Robert Turner and John Norton Moore, both senior fellows at the Center for Law and National Security in Charlottesville, Virginia. They argued that nothing in the historical record suggests that the founding fathers wanted to impede the president's power to resist a war thrust upon the United States. Despite this dissent, Stone, who thought up the statute, he explains, while taking a shower in 1971, said he was pleased at the outcome. He is planning to hold another meeting, this time with "a second culture"—strategists—to discuss how questions of international politics, defense strategy and the feasibility of passage relate to the proposal. □

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Good Morning Moscow

Schools Tune In To Soviet TV

By Tracey Dewart and Michel Eckersley

One day in 1981, Kenny Schaffer, rock and roll publicist and inventor of the first workable cordless microphone and guitar, set up a six-foot parabolic antenna on the roof of his midtown New York apartment building and tuned in to live Soviet television. He immediately understood the educational possibilities of the idea, but couldn't find anyone to develop it further until he met Jonathan Sanders, assistant director at the W. Averell Harriman Institute For Advanced Study of the Soviet Union at Columbia University.

The Harriman system locks on to each of a row of four satellites known as Molnya 3s when their highly elliptical course bears them one after the other over Canada's Hudson Bay. They relay one of the Soviet Union's two principal television channels for 15 hours a day, making available a variety of educational, physical exercise, and news programs, along with the occasional "million-ruble movie."

JEFF DODGE

Schaffer gets good reception

Since the prototype proved successful, the Harriman Institute has been bombarded with inquiries by institutions across the country. "The idea has caught on amazingly well," Sanders says, "although I thought it would catch on even more quickly." Half a dozen colleges and universities are monitoring the Molnya satellites, including Stanford, Vassar, and Emory, using either Schaffer's model or models of their own devising. "Within a year," Sanders says, "I think we'll have a dozen." Harvard, the Rand Corporation and the Universities of Virginia and Michigan are only a few of those currently installing equipment. The State Department, which until now has been operating a very costly and outmoded system, is planning to copy the Schaffer model, too. "I would say within two years every place that's really serious about studying the Soviet Union will be doing this," Sanders predicts.

Schaffer has now developed a $56,500 improved system able to pick up the television networks of a number of South American and Western European countries, as well as the news feeds being relayed between eastern bloc countries, from a satellite over West Africa called Ghorizont. But the importance of popular accessibility to Soviet television is high among Schaffer's priorities. He is working on a $15,000 "Soviet-only" system, primarily for high schools with small budgets.

As a language study aid the project is clearly invaluable: it brings language to life by setting it in a living context. As an instrument of sociological research it has further uses. At present, for example, students at the Harriman Institute are monitoring the Soviet media campaign against alcoholism, images of violence, love, and devotion in cartoons, the inculcation of respect for computers and machinery, and the news coverage of the United States. Its political implications, however, are crucial. Simply by following Soviet news the Harriman Institute, in Sanders' words, "had a better sense than anyone else in the United States, right away, of what Gorbachev really meant in his January speech about nuclear disarmament before the year 2000, which was much more complex than what was reported." Students participating in the program of International Journalism at Columbia were in a similar position when they watched the Soviet coverage of the Geneva summit.

More basically, Schaffer argues, watching everyday Soviet television will help American viewers regard Russians with a far better understanding of what their true natures and preoccupations are and how much they differ from the commonly held, "narrow" preconceptions of them. Five cable systems in major cities, including New York, are hoping to carry Soviet television 24 hours a day for one week in what Schaffer calls a "milestone social experiment in history," to allow the people of one superpower to look directly "through the window" at the citizens of another superpower. A week of Soviet broadcasting has been played from tapes over the Pentagon cable system, and the U.S. Information Agency is planning to have not one but two monitoring systems installed. If nothing more, Schaffer feels that access to Soviet television will induce the wielders of political power and opinion to "start learning things subliminally that they would never have allowed themselves to suspect."

At a diplomatic level, the satellite television project is well-timed. "Under our present bilateral exchange program," Sanders believes, "some effort should be made to study each others' media—translated, not edited." The Soviets, he says, had initially been skeptical about the project, fearing it would be used to ridicule them, "but when they saw we were using their medium to study them seriously, in a critically-minded way, to improve our Russian while getting the sense that they aren't just stereotypes, they applauded it."

However the project is used, Schaffer feels, whether as a language aid or as an anthropological and political tool, "it will put a question mark where right now there's a missile." Very soon, he believes, reflecting on its gathering momentum, "it will be everywhere." □

Compliance Study

Gloria Duffy, a Soviet scholar at Stanford University, is leading what she calls the largest non-governmental study of treaty compliance to date. Participants include a half dozen arms control and Soviet experts at Stanford, and specialists at Rand, UCLA, the National Security Council, the Hoover Institute, Lawrence Livermore, and M.I.T. "Our study should make us a credible alternative to the Administration's reports," says Duffy. "We are investigating U.S. transgressions as well." Their report, due to be completed by summer, also examines the Soviets' motives for violating arms control treaties and the reasons why the United States has only recently accused the Soviets of willfully cheating. □

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Expert Meets The Press

BY RENATA RIZZO

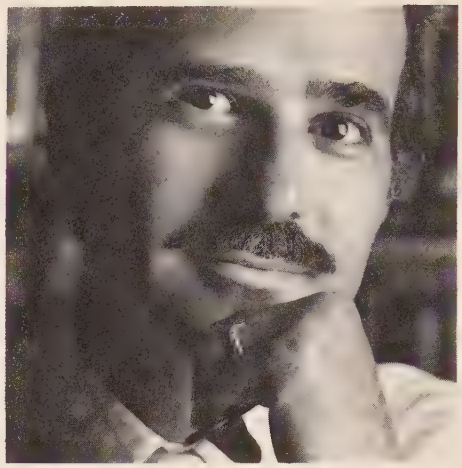
Every day, editorial writers across the nation are briefed by government officials, business leaders, and representatives of special interest groups scrambling to influence public opinion. While some arms control experts are regular participants in this ritual, the quality of editorial comment on nuclear arms issues in recent years suggests that more of them should be jumping into the fray.

It can be a rewarding activity, according to Michael Krepon, director of the verification and compliance project at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington, D.C. Krepon, author of the widely-acclaimed book, *Strategic Stalemate: Nuclear Weapons and Arms Control in American Politics*, and numerous magazine articles, is currently leading a study that is providing new insights into the political problems that surround the compliance issue. His verification work has included identifying the kinds of arms limitations that have worked in the past, and evaluating the difficulty of monitoring specific arms control provisions in the future.

As one of the foremost experts in the field, Krepon is frequently invited to give lectures around the country. For several years now, he has routinely capitalized on these trips to provide newspapers with the latest news from his field. Sometimes local contacts—including antinuclear activists—provide the connection to editorial writers; at other times Krepon sets up the meetings himself. "It can be forbidding to call up a newspaper and invite yourself," he says, "but it's worth it."

Experts with strong, independent credentials probably won't be rebuffed. "We really like to establish face-to-face contact with experts," says Dennis Ryerson, editorial director for the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, who met with Krepon last fall. "We've got people coming in all the time from industry, commerce—tomorrow we're meeting with Al Haig. We're interested in anyone who's of proven ability and influence in an area, and who's well-recognized. It's a matter of getting as much information as we can to assess the issues."

While most briefings do not directly spawn editorials or columns, they do have both short- and long-term value. Writers inevitably soak up a good deal of information about the subject at hand, both through the briefings themselves and the homework done in preparation for them. And once initial contacts with the press are established, experts can sit back and wait for writers to call *them*.



MAX HIRSHFELD

Krepon: Accessible expert

Graham Dower, the *Plain Dealer*'s editorial writer in Washington, D.C., was put in touch with Krepon shortly after his home office's meeting with the verification expert in late October. One lunch and several phone calls later, Dower reports that Krepon has been "tremendously helpful to me—he's accessible, knowledgeable, and he's able to communicate the complexity of nuclear issues." Furthermore, Dower says, Krepon has "absolutely had a concrete result in my work. I've used his information in several summit pieces. And I feel I can call on him anytime with questions."

Randolph Ryan, an editorial writer with the *Boston Globe*, says that he has actually written editorials as a result of speaking with Krepon, with whom he has been in contact for several years. "It's very important when you're writing a column to have an accurate idea of the best case the other side can make," Ryan says. "You need someone who takes Richard Perle's arguments seriously—and then demolishes them. Someone who's part of a 'movement' tends to be a little less rigorous about giving the devil his due." The *Plain Dealer* and *Globe* writers, however, would name only a handful of independent arms control experts whom they feel comfortable about calling regularly.

Although he recognizes the importance of continuing to meet with print journalists, Krepon is growing increasingly concerned with the visual component of the fourth estate. "For every person who reads newspaper editorials," he says, "you have three watching television. And the TV coverage of nuclear issues is astonishing. The real question," says Krepon, "is how can we get to television news and program directors?" ☐

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Finding Common Ground

Analysts & activists must work together

BY FRANK VON HIPPEL

Activists and analysts tend to be skeptical of each other. Actually, they need each other. Change can't happen without activists sensitizing society to the need for altering priorities. Nor can it happen without analysts understanding the status quo well enough to explain how changes can be implemented.

Unfortunately, most efforts to change the status quo, such as the nuclear weapons freeze proposal, have failed in part because activists and analysts have not succeeded in working together. On those few occasions, however, when they have cooperated, as in the movement that resulted in the 1972 ABM Treaty, the combination has proven powerful.

COLLECTING INTEREST

Activists help analysts by asking the basic questions, getting foundations interested in research on policy alternatives, and creating an audience for the results of this research. The freeze movement, for example, has done all of these things.

When a popular movement draws society's attention to a particular issue, it also attracts the interest of independent analysts. This has certainly been true for me. The anti-Vietnam protests of my students at Stanford "turned me on" to public policy research, and I chose my first policy problem, nuclear reactor safety, in part because of the questions raised by the antinuclear movement. More recently, I explored the problem of verifying a bilateral cutoff of the production of fissile material for nuclear weapons because such a cutoff could be a key part of a nuclear freeze agreement.

In addition, activists help to generate funding to support research on policy alternatives. It is not accidental that the recent upsurge of public concern about the arms race has been followed by a great increase in foundation support for policy-related research on the subject.

This is important, since traditionally few researchers work on issues of fundamental concern to activists; they're rewarded instead for focusing on the narrower problems defined by their disciplines. And both government and industry often show a lack of interest, verging on antipathy, when it comes to research that might increase the credibility of alternatives to present policy.

Finally, when analysts do arrive at policy recommendations as a result of their research, they depend on the activists to maintain the receptivity in the political environment that generated the interest in such findings in the first place.

CORRECTING PRIORITIES

Activists need analysts, too. Activists depend on analysts to help set priorities, to develop alternative policy recommendations and to respond to the criticisms that their proposals inevitably evoke.

ISABELLA BANNERMAN

Incorrect priorities may lead to counterproductive results. Antinuclear power activists in Japan and several European countries fell into that trap when, by emphasizing the problem of radioactive waste disposal, they exacerbated the more serious threat of nuclear proliferation. Partly in response to the movement's concern over the radioactive waste problem, the Japanese and West German governments are financing the building of large-scale reprocessing plants in France and Britain and are currently building reprocessing plants in their own countries. Chemical reprocessing, which separates plutonium and uranium from highly-radioactive spent fuel produced in nuclear reactors, does not make the disposal of radioactive waste easier. But it does ease access to plutonium, which can then be quickly converted into nuclear weapons by military or terrorist groups.

While the antinuclear movement in the United States also put the spotlight on the nuclear waste issue, some segments of the movement publicized the research of concerned analysts which showed that the recycling of plutonium is not only dangerous, but unnecessary and uneconomic as well. This made possible the creation of a congressional coalition with enough clout to stop the Clinch River plutonium breeder reactor.

It is well worth remembering that it was also a combination of activists and concerned scientists that 14 years ago halted a strategic defense initiative: the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) system. Presidential science advisors had long opposed the deployment of ABM systems, an enormously expensive undertaking which they believed would increase the risk of nuclear war without making its consequences less catastrophic. It was only after citizens in urban areas such as Seattle, Chicago, and Boston rose up against proposals to base nuclear-tipped antimissile missiles in their backyards that the political environment became receptive to the arguments of the anti-ABM scientists. As a result, President Nixon signed the ABM Treaty in 1972.

CONNECTING SUPPORT

Since the defeat of the ABM system, however, only one nuclear weapons policy issue has attracted sufficient "backyard" visibility to create a successful coalition of local activists and analysts. This was President Carter's proposal to build 4600 concrete shelters and connecting highways for 200 MX missiles in Utah and Nevada.

The most glaring recent failure to obtain the cooperation of activists and independent analysts lies in the proposal mounted by the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign. While the Campaign has managed to unite a broad spectrum of activists, it faces credibility problems when confronted with questions such as: How can we verify a freeze on production activities that can't be seen by satellites? How do we include systems such as cruise missiles and fighter-bombers that can be either nuclear or nonnuclear? The silence of most of the community of experts has been extremely damaging.

Why didn't these experts rally behind the freeze proposal, as they have actively opposed President Reagan's Strategic De-

The author, a physicist, is a Professor of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University and a leader of Princeton's Program on Nuclear Policy Alternatives.

fense Initiative? In my view, the problem was that the task of providing the supporting analysis for the proposal—with all of its technical, economic and political ramifications—simply appeared overwhelming.

Perhaps activists could have made life easier for analysts by saying, "Although we are insisting on the end of the nuclear arms race as our overriding objective, we don't expect you to be able to explain right away exactly how to implement a comprehensive freeze."

Similarly, analysts could have been more forthcoming and said (as a few of us did): "We already know how to verify a limited freeze that would cover warhead testing and the testing and deployment of ballistic missiles, and we'll continue to work on the problem of verifying a freeze on production." Princeton's Program on Nuclear Policy Alternatives is working on a related proposal that would start with a very broad—but not necessarily comprehensive—freeze, which would lead to the elimination of nuclear war fighting systems and eventually to a tenfold reduction of the superpowers' nuclear arsenals.

While freeze legislation is now stalled, most of its activist supporters would gladly work again for the same objective—if they felt that there was a chance of success. And large numbers of independent scientists and analysts, frightened by the Reagan Administration's primitive thinking about nuclear weapons, would also welcome a revival of the proposal.

A nuclear weapons freeze proposal is therefore well worth trying again—expanded this time to include a freeze on the militarization of space. The next time around, however, the formulation must be one that will attract both activists and analysts. □

Laser Winter

Laser weapons in space could more effectively incinerate cities than defend against ICBMs. That's the surprising conclusion of a study by R&D Associates, a conservative think tank that generally favors weapon modernization. The American Physical Society, a professional association of physicists, published similar findings in their January *Physics and Society* newsletter. The American Physical Society report noted that attacks from lasers could create fire storms on the scale expected after a major nuclear exchange, raising the possibility of a "laser winter" similar to nuclear winter.

Poll Watchers

Traditionally, most Americans have believed that an anti-ballistic missile system would work, reports Bernard Kramer of the University of Massachusetts and Tom Graham of M.I.T. They arrived at their surprising findings, which are due to be published in the spring issue of *Public Opinion*, after pulling together over 600 opinion polls taken since 1945. When asked in 1945 whether it would be possible for scientists to develop an effective defense against nuclear weapons, over two-thirds of those polled said "yes," and this number has remained stable ever since.

Not Fade Away

Over the years David Rosenberg, a leading expert on nuclear strategy at the Naval War College, has been shaking up popular perceptions of U.S. nuclear strategy. Rosenberg is now working on a book that covers the "reality" rather than the "theory" of his favorite subject. Among his surprising conclusions: "The United States developed a strategy for war-fighting in 1948—and it never went away."

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Uncovering Nuclear Illusion

Working profile: Steven Kull

By Corinna Gardner

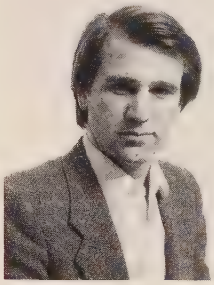
While the irrationality of the nuclear arms race may have attained the staid stature of a cultural institution—widely lampooned, lamented and more or less accepted—it is for behavioral scientists a matter of intensive new research. Among the prominent investigators of nuclear irrationality is Steven Kull, a 34-year-old clinical psychologist and fellow with Stanford University's Center for International Security and Arms Control.

Kull, who made a strong impression with his article "Nuclear Nonsense" in the Spring '85 issue of *Foreign Policy*, has been conducting an interview study both here and in the Soviet Union, and plans to finish a book based on his research this summer. So far, Kull has recorded interviews (lasting from one to three hours each) with 75 Americans, including former secretaries of defense, former chairmen of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, highly-placed officials in the Reagan Administration, and think tank analysts. "As people start talking," says Kull, "I try to elicit the rationale for the arms race."

But instead, Kull often observes an assortment of irrationalities. "Most of the people I interview may initially present a military rationale for the nuclear arms race," he explains, "but after awhile they reveal that they don't *really* think that nuclear weapons are militarily important—but they say that *others* do."

Kull has, in fact, been "really surprised" by how often the interviewees will admit that what they had said on previous occasions about a given topic "was not really true." To Kull this indicates a degree of personality fragmentation. It manifests itself, for example, in confused and contradictory statements on subjects such as the winnability of a nuclear war. In *Winning the Unwinnable*, a draft report based on his study, Kull rephrases the views of one defense analyst this way: "Even though people like me don't say the U.S. can prevail in an Eastern European war, we really do think it can, even though it can't."

Because of a Soviet bureaucracy that seems to run hot and cold about participating in the project, Kull has, in two trips to the Soviet Union, managed to meet with only 14 political analysts, diplomats, journalists and academics. Still, Kull has already observed remarkable similarities between his American and Soviet subjects. Like their western counterparts, the Soviets rarely ascribe any military value to nuclear weapons, but instead reason that since the United States has nuclear weapons, the Soviets must have them as well. There is at least one difference, however: the Soviets place greater emphasis on the value of nuclear weapons as superpower status symbols. Kull plans to make one more trip to the Soviet Union, when he hopes to conduct 15 to 20 more interviews.



Steven Kull

The crux of the problem of nuclear irrationality, however, may not reside in individual psyches, Soviet or American. "The key issue," Kull says, "is that there has been a nuclear revolution. Now, because of population vulnerability, the cost of taking military action far outweighs any potential benefits." But because no consensus has emerged about how to cope with this profound change in international relations, nuclear strategists are left to oscillate between a pre- and post-nuclear consciousness.

The public, too, tends to "conventionalize" nuclear war, Kull believes, so that its perceptions of the arms race are largely based on *misperceptions*. Defense strategists, Kull has discovered in his interviews, acknowledge these misperceptions (such as the importance of matching the Soviets weapon for weapon) but do nothing to dispel them. Instead, according to Kull, the policy makers "play along" with the misperceptions, and adapt our nuclear arsenals to them.

With irrationalities, misperceptions and self-deceptions continuing to drive the arms race, Kull believes that the "main thing now is to explore the alternatives to resolving conflict by force." This will not be easy, he maintains, because "one of the great ironies of the current age is that most people are more afraid of changing aspects of international order than they are afraid of nuclear war." □

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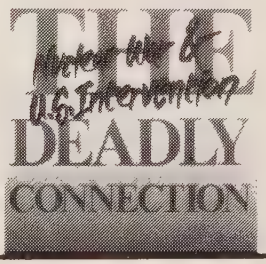

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ARTICLES

"Nuclear War at Sea," by Desmond Ball, *International Security* (MIT Press, Winter 1985–86). This investigation of little-known problems that accompany our large investment in nuclear weapons at sea outlines why first-use could very well take place there: an unauthorized naval launch is possible because there are no outside release mechanisms to prevent it; the Navy habitually plays games of "chicken" with its Soviet counterpart, and operates risky surveillance missions within the Soviet territorial limit.

"The Age of the Arctic," by Oran R. Young (*Foreign Policy*, Winter 1985–86). The Arctic is rapidly becoming a major military and industrial center, writes Oran Young, director of the Center for Northern Studies in Wolcott, Vermont. Submarine fleets stationed under the ice cover can now strike at virtually any military target in the United States, Europe or the Soviet Union. At the same time, prodigious deposits of natural gas, oil and coal are attracting large-scale industrialization.

"Matching the U.S.-Soviet Relationship," by Jerry F. Hough (*World Policy Journal*, Winter 1985–86). Hough calls for a new era in U.S.-Soviet affairs based on "realism," and aims his message at a new generation of Democratic leaders in hopes that they will finally attack the Cold War assumptions that block that path. He believes that Gorbachev is serious about making the Soviet Union competitive economically and technologically, and that this will profoundly moderate both its domestic and foreign policies.

REPORTS

Papers on Strategic Defense, commissioned by the Union of Concerned Scientists, 26 Church Street, Cambridge, MA 02238. $3.00 per paper. In "The ASAT/SDI Link," Peter Didisheim argues that, because initial Star Wars projects would first lead to the development of a potent anti-satellite weapon (ASAT), research should instead focus on a ground-based rather than a space-based defense system. In "SDI and NATO," Jonathan Dean writes that the prospect of an American ballistic missile defense is eroding Europe's confidence that the United States is willing to extend its shield of deterrence. Peter Clausen's "Limited Defense" argues that even the development of a limited ballistic defense system would have a similarly damaging effect.

BOOKS

Making Europe Unconquerable: The Potential of Civilian-based Deterrence and Defence, by Gene Sharp (Ballinger, 252 pp.). In this, his fourth book on non-violent action, Harvard University's Gene Sharp introduces potentially promising alternatives to defense through military means.

Nuclear Deterrence: Ethics and Strategy, edited by Russell Hardin, John J. Mearsheimer, Gerald Dworkin, and Robert E. Goodin (University of Chicago Press). This collection of 21 essays is the product of an unprecedented meeting between philosophers and arms control strategists organized by the Aspen Institute. Many of the moral philosophers hold the view that the popular perception of the Soviet-American conflict as "us against them," and of nuclear retaliation as an act of vengeance, cannot be squared with the threat of killing tens of millions of children. While most of the philosophers debated the ethical issues of U.S. deterrent strategy, and ignored the policy questions that preoccupy strategists, the collected papers reveal that the opinions expressed by each group are more diverse than either side anticipated. □

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The fight against Star Wars, together with a drive to end nuclear testing, top the 1986 agendas of most of the major antinuclear and arms control groups. But even as those groups are gearing up for another bruising budget battle, some individuals are questioning whether Star Wars should be a priority target.

"If it won't work, then why fight it?" is essentially the question some observers, such as Jerome Grossman, the president of Council for a Livable World, are asking. Others, such as Daniel Deudney, a fellow at the World Policy Institute, are suggesting that the Strategic Defense Initiative should be combatted with a positive alternative: cooperative East-West space exploration. A similar call for peaceful

TOM BLOOM

exploration (as opposed to SDI) was made by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in his mid-January proposal to rid the world of nuclear weapons by the year 2000.

Grossman is opposed to SDI, and his organization is continuing to lobby against it, he says. But he does not think opposing Star Wars should be a peace movement focus because that "lends credibility to a program which is scientifically and technologically fraudulent." Instead, he believes the peace movement must stake out its own agenda by emphasizing a comprehensive test ban instead of SDI.

"When we focus on Star Wars we are playing on President Reagan's turf," Grossman says. "It is a hot issue right now, but the long-term benefits to the peace movement seem to me to be minimal, whereas a CTB is a logical first step for an authentic freeze."

Grossman attacks Star Wars in part because it is a diversion. "I think the population defense idea," he says, "is a cover for a hidden agenda which is to provide a 'point' defense." While Grossman is opposed to a point (missile silo) defense, others, such as Jonathan Schell, Freeman Dyson, and Howard Morland, have argued that a limited defense, operating together with reduced armaments, could have a positive stabilizing effect.

Morland, disarmament coordinator with the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy in Washington, D.C., likens a point defense system to hardening missile silos. While he opposes actually building a missile defense, Morland believes that, in theory, anything that increases the survivability of a second-strike force that is not provocative is stabilizing.

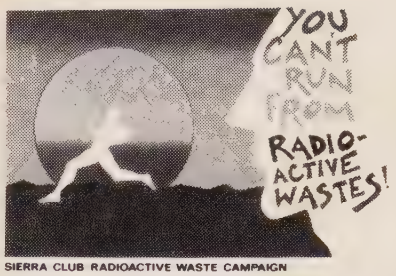
The same argument is made in a winter *Foreign Affairs* article, "What Went Wrong With Arms Control?" by an advocate of deterrence, Thomas Schelling. He writes that the ABM treaty should have allowed missile silo defense because it would have increased stability.

"I am distressed that most people in the peace movement do not have a theory of stability they can use to determine what we should support," Morland says. As a result, he adds, "we have allowed ourselves to be co-opted" by the President, instead of putting forth our own agenda.

In a draft article which he is circulating for comment, Morland argues that "the 'bad' part of Star Wars, namely population defense, will be defeated by the laws of physics. The only part with a chance of working, silo defense, is relatively harmless, except as a waste of money." Instead of prioritizing Star Wars, he writes, the peace movement should turn its attention to the D-5 missile, and other "first-strike" weapons. (Morland and the Coalition have been fighting a lonely—and losing—battle against the D-5 for years now.)

Some activists are advancing an alternative strategy to simply working against Star Wars: working for what Daniel Deudney calls "Star Trek" (or what Gorbachev refers to as "large-scale projects of peaceful exploration of space by all mankind").

The concept is attractive to scientists who would rather explore space than design weapons, and to labor leaders interested in converting military aerospace



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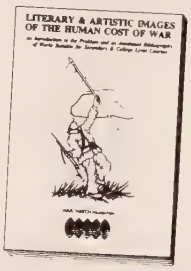

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technology to other types of aerospace work. And it is attractive as a positive organizing tool, claim advocates such as the Institute for Security and Cooperation in Outer Space (ISCOS).

ISCOS lobbies in Washington, D.C. to divert SDI funding to NASA for such projects as cleaning up orbital debris and for such military projects as beefing up satellite technology for verification purposes. It is working on a study, "Space Cooperation and Conversion: The New Local and Global Imperative," and will publish the first issue of *Spaceline*, a monthly newsletter in April or May. Space cooperation ideas have filtered down to local groups, such as the Colorado STARS Committee, California's Progressive Space Forum, and a San Francisco group that grew out of the labor movement, the Coalition Against the Space Arms Race.

Deudney, 32, who is affiliated with ISCOS and a member of the Progressive Space Forum's advisory board, is the author of several articles on space cooperation, and is sometimes considered the political father of the strategy.

"The idea is, we are not going to be able simply to shut down the military-industrial complex—we have to use a diversion strategy," Deudney said in a recent telephone interview. Cooperation between the superpowers in space can defuse arms race tension, he said. "The future is in space for both the United States and the Soviet Union," Deudney said, adding that because of symbolism, "the high frontier cooperation in space will undercut the self-fulfilling prophecies of inevitable conflict.

"You can't really say we need an arms control treaty to get rid of SDI, we already have a treaty that would outlaw it," he said. Instead the peace movement needs to "get a handle on the Pandora's box of science whence spring all these novel strategies." The space cooperation idea also combats Reagan's SDI scheme on its own political level—one of positive vision politics. What Deudney calls his Star Trek "agenda" includes joint space exploration and colonization; the use of space technology to study the Earth and its environment; and establishing an international satellite monitoring agency.

"The peace movement has got to think in terms of leadership," said Deudney. "What if we had a newly-elected president devoted to fundamental changes? He would not have very long to do much, but he has a great deal of control over space policy. Cooperation would have tremendous symbolic significance and it would have its own momentum, unlike arms control, where each step you take becomes more difficult." **—Douglas Lavin**

We may be poised at an historic turning point in the nuclear arms race. Deterrence doctrine is being questioned by antinuclear activists and SDI advocates alike. Budget deficits and dissatisfaction with bloated defense spending have spurred efforts to redefine national security in terms that go far beyond the military. The arrival of new leadership in the Soviet Union has raised hopes for a significant change in the superpower dynamic. The leaders of the two countries most responsible for the arms race have each proposed visionary alternatives: Reagan's "Star Wars" and Gorbachev's disarmament-by-the-year-2000. Peace activists and policy analysts, recognizing the limits of short-term arms control proposals and congressional lobbying campaigns, are beginning to search for long-term solutions themselves. In this issue and the next, NUCLEAR TIMES will examine this search for solutions. This issue we look at attempts to transform nuclear policy and U.S.-Soviet relations. Next issue we will focus on the many current efforts to outline "real security" based on a broadening range of national and global considerations—and what new strategies for the antinuclear and arms control communities all of these endeavors suggest.

MARY ANN SMITH

The Search For Solutions

Transforming the superpower struggle

BY THOMAS POWERS

A sense of history can be a troubling thing. It suggests deeper currents beneath the events of the day. It can make you wonder how the Cold War will end. You and I may not feel we have a quarrel with the Russians, and the Russians we meet—if we're lucky enough to meet any—may not feel they have a quarrel with us. But our two countries are ready to fight a big war with each other all the same. They are getting readier, and a little reflection on the history of Great Power rivalries suggests they may well do it. How are we to get out of this melancholy situation?

I once asked this question of Senator Ernest Hollings, a Democrat from South Carolina. He was running for president at the time. He looked thoughtful for a moment and then said, "What?"

So I put it another way. The Cold War is 40 years old and in retrospect has a certain disturbing persistence of theme—hostility, periodic crises leading to the brink of war, competition in arms of growing destructive power. How are we to transform this relationship and drain it of the danger that our global rivalry will end like its predecessors in a big war?

Hollings said, "What?"

I tried again. The arms race is only a symptom of a deeper animosity of a traditional sort. Yet we tend to see the problem as a military one with a military solution. The result has been an endless stream of new weapons which produce neither peace nor security. How can we relax or transcend the underlying animosity so the purely military tensions of high-tech confrontation might finally be allowed to subside?

Hollings brightened. "Ah," he said, getting my point, as he thought, at last. "I am against the MX and for the cruise."

And there we are. Hollings is no fool, but he had been schooled in Washington, where the world is invented anew every year at budget time and aspirants for high office must somehow juggle the public's demand for peace without appearing to be soft on the Russians. This is a formula for going on as we are.

In Washington's foreign policy and defense circles it has been pretty much the whole of the law since 1945. When George Kennan invented the containment policy in the late 1940s he implied that the passage of time would mellow the Russians. In fact it has mellowed us both, but official comfort with things as they are hasn't had much effect on slowing the arms race. The planners behind Star Wars speak confidently of having *decades* to put their program into place and the fitful history of arms control suggests decades at least before we might expect anything big from that direction. Mikhail Gorbachev's bold new plan to rid the world of nuclear weapons, beginning with Europe, would be a fine place to resume talking, but it asks President Reagan to do two things he has all but sworn never to do—give up Star Wars, and join the Soviets in a complete ban on nuclear testing. None of the likely, or even unlikely, candidates for president in 1988 has shown any sign of thinking that the dangers posed by the Cold War require anything more than the wise and skillful management they hope to provide.

The truth is that just about everybody professionally involved in national defense expects things to go on as they are—no peace and no war—more or less indefinitely. The United States and the Soviet Union are going to remain "rivals" in official communiques—enemies in fact—but

Thomas Powers is a contributing editor of The Atlantic *and author of* Thinking About The Next War.

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they are not going to fight.

So how are we going to break this pattern of endless confrontation?

A handful of past and present officials in the Reagan Administration appear to think that the confrontation might someday end, short of war, in a Soviet "collapse." All-out competition in expensive new high-tech weaponry might overstrain the feeble Soviet economy, already incapable of selling anything except raw materials for hard currency. Endless belt-tightening and repression at home, combined with rebellion in Eastern Europe, might push the Soviets over the edge. I suppose this could happen. Empires do collapse, but I can't think of any examples in history which did not require a final push into war—the one thing we're trying to avoid.

"Peaceful coexistence"—Krushchev's version of neither war nor peace—does not seem to work. The two sides can't stop worrying about each other. Arms control—call it "freeze," "build-down," "no-first-use," or what you will—is a step in the right direction, but its progress is slow, tentative and fitful, while technology leaps and runs. Back in November 1945, in a farewell speech to the scientists at Los Alamos who built the first bomb, J. Robert Oppenheimer said, "I want to express the utmost sympathy with the people who have to grapple with this problem and in the strongest terms to urge you not to underestimate its difficulty."

Well, I sympathize, and I try not to underestimate, but it seems to me that all of us—officials, researchers and analysts who have to grapple with the problem, and the peace movement alike—have conspicuously failed to see that an adequate solution cannot be found in a negotiated list of permissible hardware. The weapons are only a symptom of the underlying animosity of the United States and the Soviet Union, and dealing with that is going to take more than a command to cut-it-out.

We have not *always* been hostile rivals. The Russians have never forgotten, and are quick to remind us, that once we were united in a common endeavor—the struggle to defeat Hitler. Perhaps a common endeavor might work again.

Animosity is a thing that keeps governments busy as few other things can. Since animosity is too dangerous a diversion we must busy our governments with something else—something positive, challenging, and expensive. The alternative is to go on as we are—officials trying to find military solutions to what they see as a military problem, while the peace movement compiles its list of global don'ts. The British have a phrase for this approach to problems with no readily apparent solution. They attempt to *muddle through*. It's what we've been doing for 40 years. □

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Short-term Plans, Long-range Visions

Activists and analysts are exploring alternatives

By Katherine Magraw

Efforts to envision a more secure world, and to design plausible ways of getting there, are naturally welcomed, at least in theory, by everyone. What is remarkable is how difficult—for different reasons—this task appears to be for activists and analysts alike, and how relatively little emphasis has been placed on this pursuit.

"The propensity for academics to avoid the big issues is more or less limitless," says Stephen Van Evera, managing editor of *International Security*, a policy-oriented journal produced by Harvard University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. And Pam Solo, a veteran leader of the Freeze Campaign, points out: "It is a cultural problem of the American peace movement to emphasize process over substance."

There are many fledgling efforts now under way, however, in both the analyst and activist camps to redress these failings.

MARY ANN SMITH

ACTIVIST VISION

At the Freeze Campaign's national conference last November, its Long-Range Planning Subcommittee was charged with the task of defining a "long-range vision of security and America's role in the nuclear-armed world" over the course of this year. "We once thought we didn't need to deal with the political complexities of the nuclear arms race because we had this technical fix," explains Pam Solo. "Now we all know we have to think in terms of long-range strategy that seeks to change the political debate by offering an alternative vision of the future."

SANE is one of the few activist organizations which has adopted a detailed, long-term program. The SANE board this past fall unanimously adopted a proposal to "move beyond the war system to the peace system," submitted in the form of a three-page paper by Marcus Raskin entitled "Disarmament and Common Security." Raskin's vision is based on the 1961 McCloy-Zorin agreements, and calls for the disarmament of all nuclear and conventional forces in three five-year phases. Adoption of the Raskin proposal, Cortright says, means that SANE will no longer support "incremental arms control, such as SALT II, which is part of the war system" and "is unlikely to ever put our resources into a single weapons campaign like the MX again."

Other groups are talking of "redefining" national security to include not just military power but economic and educational strength, as well as better relations with the Soviets and the Third World. The current debate over military spending is giving these organizations—which range from Business Executives for National Security to the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy—a timely point of departure from which to suggest positive alternatives to continuing the arms race. (More on this in the next issue of NUCLEAR TIMES.) Yet leaders of these groups admit that while they have outlined positive steps along a path to a safer world they have not described in detail what that world might look like.

"We don't need to have the all-encompassing vision set out just yet," argues Eric Fersht, disarmament director at Greenpeace. "We have to work on developing the right approach based on familiar American themes and values."

ACADEMIC INTEREST

Will activists searching for new approaches to achieving real security find them among the academics and experts in the national security field? Typically, the work of security experts has been inaccessible to activists and oriented towards policy-makers or maintaining the status quo.

And those academics who *are* concerned with describing what a different world could look like have not been closely involved with like-minded activists. Gordon Adams, a former academic and now director of the Defense Budget Project, comments that "while their [experts'] vision can inspire people, it rarely has anything to do with politics because they don't particularly *care* how we get from here to there."

A survey of work being done by security analysts outside of government, however, reveals a widening range of ideas for increasing global security. This is due in part to disillusionment with arms control negotiations and increased awareness of the possibility of inadvertent nuclear war.

A vulgarized form of deterrence theory once dominated thinking in the "liberal" universities and think tanks. It excluded as irrelevant all that was extraneous to weaponry. This view is now giving way to one that acknowledges the importance of the political relationship between the superpowers. The assumption that the two blocs are in a state of permanent war, and will forever remain so, is weakening its hold as specialists from disciplines other than international relations and security studies enter the field.

Any historian will tell you that the Cold War will surely come to an end, one way or another. But until now national security experts trained in the "realist" school of political science, which admits little room for cooperation between rivals in a bipolar world, have been hesitant to grant that possibility much credence.

What follows is a survey of a number of dominant ideas concerning nuclear policy and the superpower relationship coming from established academics and experts. Not all are visionary. They were chosen to illustrate strong tendencies and trends in this field and are grouped along a rough continuum that runs from improving the status quo to looking beyond the nation-state. (*See "Beyond the Bomb," page 32, for alternative defense schemes originating outside the mainstream.*).

IMPROVE THE STATUS QUO

A common position among many security experts is that the United States should "enhance deterrence and stability" through selective modernization and arms control, improve ways to manage U.S.-Soviet interaction in crises and avoid actions that could be provocative or destabilizing.

The path to greater security requires neither a restructuring of forces or doctrines, nor a substantial reorientation of the U.S.-Soviet relationship, argues the Harvard University project on Avoiding Nuclear War. On the contrary, project members argue, deviations from our current posture, such as a no-first-use declaration, a freeze and efforts to deploy a defense shield for cities, could all have dangerous consequences (*see page 30*).

Now the Avoiding Nuclear War group is investigating what may lie "beyond deterrence." However, Fen Hampson, former coordinator of the project, reports: "It's fair to say we have really flopped around a lot." One member concurs: "The problem is, no one in the group really believes that the [superpower] political relationship can ever change."

CRISIS STABILITY AND IMPROVING COMMAND AND CONTROL

Over the past year or so, the vulnerability and performance of nuclear command and control under attack, and the problems of maintaining civilian control over nuclear forces in a time of crisis, have become two popular areas of study. Recent books by Daniel Ford, Paul Bracken and Bruce Blair contain ominous warnings about the unreliability and unmanageability of the command and control system. They also provide devastating arguments against the need for further modernization of nuclear weapons.

A crisis stability project sponsored by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and headed by Kurt Gottfried of Cornell University, will be publishing a book in mid-summer. According to principal project member Bruce Blair, a guest scholar at the Brookings Institution, the project will offer some policy recommendations, such as removing forward-based tactical nuclear forces and taking nuclear weapons off alert. But it will not directly address the U.S.-Soviet relationship or U.S. doctrine.

"I know that crisis stability is not a theme that can appeal to an activist movement because it is too esoteric," says Gottfried. "And it isn't necessarily the most fruitful approach to enhancing security. But, as a physicist, this is where I can contribute. And crisis stability is important, because crises may well occur even though neither side wants it or can control it."

FAR-REACHING CHANGES IN THE U.S. NUCLEAR POSTURE

Morton Halperin, director of the Center for National Security Studies in Washington, D.C., and former deputy assistant secretary of defense, is working on a proposal to move the United States towards a posture of no-first-use and no early-second-use. The proposal, which will appear in book form this fall, is based on the conviction that the U.S. policy of first use of nuclear weapons substantially increases the risk of nuclear war by giving nuclear weapons a mission other than deterring their use by others.

Under Halperin's plan, *all* nuclear weapons—or "explosive devices," as he refers to them—would be disengaged from the military forces. A finite number of these "devices" would be placed in a separate force under strict presidential control. "The fundamental mistake we've made is to view nuclear explosive devices as 'weapons' and to integrate them into our forces and base our planning and commitments on using them as instruments of foreign policy," Halperin explains.

Halperin's proposal was prompted by his desire to provide an answer to people who ask what can be done to significantly reduce the risk of nuclear war. His proposal does not depend on, or necessarily lead to, a change in the political relationship between the superpowers; the United States (and the Soviet Union if the proposal were to be bilateral) would still be free to intervene in whatever conflicts they wanted.

A quite different approach has been mapped out by Randall Forsberg, director of the Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and author of the "Call to Halt the Nuclear Arms Race." Forsberg reasons that the only way to reverse the nuclear arms race "is to make conventional war so unlikely that those who support large nuclear forces for conventional deterrence will no longer consider them necessary." The key step towards eliminating the prospect of conventional war is for both superpowers to renounce intervention. "Intervention," Forsberg says, "is the single most important factor of the superpower relationship."

Her proposal consists of six bilateral steps starting with a freeze and followed by a renunciation of intervention and reductions in conventional and nuclear forces in a phased, long-term process. "By gradually confining the role of conventional military forces to defense, more and more narrowly defined," Forsberg has written, "we can move safely toward a world in which conventional forces are limited to short-range, defensive armaments, in which international institutions provide an effective nonviolent means of resolving conflicts, and in which nuclear weapons can be abolished."

Several programs for complete disarma-

ment have been put forward. Jonathan Schell, for one, has called for an "abolition movement." There is a consensus among experts, however, that complete disarmament is not realistic given that the knowledge and resources for manufacturing nuclear and conventional weapons is inherent in advanced technological societies. Many analysts also believe that disarmament, in itself, is not the means to a different world, it is the *product* of changes that are themselves the means—changes in our relationship to the use of military force, changes in domestic politics and changes in the relationships between nations.

TRANSFORMING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SUPERPOWERS

It may take an historian to force a national security expert to consider ways to cease the Cold War. The prominent American historian John Gaddis will try to do just that at a conference he is hosting this April at Ohio University entitled "Resolving Soviet-American Differences: How the Cold War Might End." Robert Jervis, Randall Forsberg, and Walter Rostow are among the six speakers.

Far short of addressing head-on the question of the permanence of the Cold War, a number of academics are investigating ways in which the U.S.-Soviet relationship could evolve that would, at a minimum, increase the level of trust and cooperation between the two nations. Among the most distinct approaches to this problem:

- Several analysts are presenting a strong argument that the United States needs to increase efforts to understand Soviet perceptions. Columbia University's Robert Jervis, whose work has pioneered principles in political psychology, says that "unless statesmen understand the ways in which their counterparts in the Soviet Union see the world, their deterrence policies are likely to fail." Furthermore, Jervis says that the cultivation of positive perceptions on both sides should be fostered by regular communication and agreements. "The general political atmosphere changes the world," he explains. "If you think the world can stay at peace, we are more likely to stay at peace. If you believe war is inevitable then initiating war might make sense."
- A second approach focuses on the practice of negotiation. Harvard Law School professor Roger Fisher's program, the acknowledged pathmaker in this field, identifies and teaches techniques for negotiation and conflict resolution that maximize mutual benefit in any dispute—from squabbles in the schoolyard to arms control negotiations. A company spawned by the program holds an annual training session for NATO officials and may meet with U.S. and Soviet officials in Vienna this summer.
- A means to achieve more far-reaching change, yet still within an apolitical framework, is suggested by the work of Robert Keohane, a political scientist at Harvard. He argues that changes in the world economy are causing nations to become increasingly dependent on one another, and more apt to adopt global perspectives in their search for solutions to national problems. Keohane's main contribution is to highlight the importance of inter-governmental institutions—such as the International Monetary Fund—that operate across national frontiers and could, under certain conditions, play a decisive role in promoting cooperation among governments.

Joseph Nye at Harvard is one of the few researchers to apply Keohane's work on economic security to questions of national security. But Keohane's theme of interdependence is common to most visions of global security and world order. Studies in world order postulate changes in the relationships between nations that go far beyond anything mentioned here. This field draws on a long tradition, but much of the work is not seriously regarded by the mainstream.

Robert Johansen, senior fellow at the World Policy Institute (formerly the Institute for World Order) in New York City, explains that this is because it has traditionally relied on legal and institutional structures—now discredited by the example of the United Nations and other bodies—and has not paid sufficient attention to the process of *realizing* a world order. The current work is more concerned with uncovering values and norms, as well as suggesting near-term policies, that can point society in the right direction.

CHANGING NORMS AND VALUES, CHALLENGING ASSUMPTIONS

Princeton University's Richard Falk, the unofficial "dean" of world order studies, emphasizes the need for the creation of new values and norms. "At this stage, blueprints of alternative world order systems are not very important," Falk says. "What is most needed is a new tradition of citizenship based on the values of peace, economic well-being, human rights, and ecological balance. Such a citizen will challenge the logic of war and seek to reinvigorate democracy so that society can control the state rather than the other way around."

Johansen has elaborated on the perspective of "global humanism" in his work, and has used that perspective to interpret the conduct of U.S. foreign policy. Work such as this—what little there is—corresponds closely to the needs voiced by activists and educators (and organizations such as Beyond War) to redefine national security around different themes, values and assumptions.

Researchers are producing work all the time that could be useful in any public education campaign intended to question some of the key assumptions of U.S. foreign policy, claims *International Security*'s Stephen Van Evera. One example he cites is the presumed vulnerability of Western Europe to a Soviet attack. Two recent *International Security* papers by defense analysts Barry Posen and John Mearsheimer "conclusively and factually debunked the myth of the Soviet threat to Western Europe," Van Evera contends. The trouble is, he says, "the 'left' is not nearly so efficient as the 'right' in getting such studies translated for public consumption, repeated by the media, and broadcast."

Help may be on the way, however. A new project, led by Richard Barnet at the Institute for Policy Studies, will develop educational materials to help average citizens analyze basic security issues and encourage them to consider long-term alternatives to present nuclear policy.

As the range of work done by analysts continues to widen, the possibilities for collaboration with activists look more promising. Many in both camps cite the remarkable job the "New Right" has done over the past decade in promoting a vision of a future using both academic and activist skills. George Rathjens of M.I.T., chairman of a new group of academics, researchers and activists called Exploratory Project on the Conditions of Peace (Expro), says his inspiration for the group is the Committee on the Present Danger.

Any activist/analyst collaboration reinforces the relationship between ideas and action, between long- and short-term strategies. "I believe it is important to have a whole range of steps which can be implemented in the immediate future," says Robert Johansen. "But those immediate steps should have some connection with a long-range vision so that people implementing them know that those steps in and of themselves are not sufficient. If they don't, then those steps are simply band-aids." □

Getting There From Here

An academic/activist dialogue

It is a sign of the times that Harvard University analysts who talked about Living With Nuclear Weapons *(in a book by that title) in 1983 are now considering ways of getting rid of them, or reducing their danger. Albert Carnesale and Joseph Nye, two of the authors of that book, subsequently formed the Avoiding Nuclear War Project at Harvard, and with fellow project member Graham Allison produced a collection of risk-reduction proposals,* Hawks, Doves & Owls. *Now they have embarked on a three-year project to study what lies "beyond deterrence." In this dialogue with Betsy Taylor, Carnesale describes some of the obstacles that anyone interested in reducing our reliance on nuclear weapons will have to consider. Carnesale, a member of the U.S. delegation to the SALT I talks, is academic dean of the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard. Taylor, who has worked for SANE and Freeze Voter, has just completed a year of study at the Kennedy School, and is now executive director of the Ottinger Foundation.*

ILLUSTRATIONS BY MARY ANN SMITH

THE TECHNICAL DIMENSION

Carnesale: When we talk about getting from "here" to "there" there's no sense usually of where "there" is. It is not hard to think of worlds that are even worse than the one we have now. It is not easy to think of worlds—that pass the test of plausibility—that are much better. We have to be imaginative. The trouble is, when we think of plausibility we think in terms of 1986.

Taylor: I think many people are now recognizing that this has been a tremendous problem.

Carnesale: So we [at Harvard] are trying to stretch ourselves, to say we've got to be more bold. We have this little rule that we must agree not to dismiss an idea as absurd without hearing about it for at least three minutes! So we try and look at "end points"—end points in quotation marks because there's no end point, there's a world that keeps moving.

For example, let's take a simple end point, a world in which all nuclear weapons have been destroyed. That's not very comforting in terms of stability, for a couple of reasons. If you didn't get rid of the conventional weapons, and if the political relations among states are pretty much as they have been, and aggressive behavior is pretty much the way it was before, you're ready for World War III—only it won't use nuclear weapons. It'll use chemical and biological weapons, and tanks and guns and high explosives.

Taylor: That suggests that the political dimension may be more important than the technical dimension.

Carnesale: That's right. You won't be able to make the changes in the technical dimension unless you make them in the political one.

Taylor: I think a lot of people are starting to agree that we must focus on improving relations between nations, especially between the superpowers.

Carnesale: As a matter of fact, in a world in which there are no nuclear weapons, think of the value of having 10. You give enormous incentive to other nations to produce small arsenals, and how are you going to prevent that? Well, none of us know any way.

Taylor: The dilemma, though, is that many people in the academic world feel uncomfortable thinking in a serious way about going beyond deterrence. They say that we should really *bolster* deterrence. There is the argument that deterrence has served us well, and that's plausible. I think one can get uncomfortable with that, too: one mishap could change the whole situation. Do you struggle with that? In fact, what you're saying is, "Well, what we've got now is maybe the best we can get."

Carnesale: I don't believe that what we have now is the best we can get. But I *am* one of those people who has said, in response to a number of proposals for abandoning deterrence: "Whoops, before you throw away this shield let's make sure that we have one to replace it with that is at least no less faulty."

Now, the question is, does that mean I have to pretend that deterrence is not fragile? No. Indeed, what we should do is intensify the search for alternatives. But not pretend that we have alternatives when we don't.

Taylor: Do you think the *objective* is a problem? That, in fact, part of the problem in coming up with a long-term vision—whether it's "Star Wars" or disarmament—is that in this world we *can't* have invulnerability, it's an outdated notion.

Carnesale: I think that's true—and hence the focus on the political, not the technical. Invulnerability is not the only way to be safe.

But let me mention one other thing. You were talking about "moving beyond deterrence"—which we [at Harvard] sometimes use as a kind of bumper sticker. What we really mean is moving beyond a situation in which the United States tries to avoid uses of force by maintaining the very real possibility of a major nuclear war. But you don't *have* to move beyond deterrence for that. Deterrence is not a nuclear-age concept.

Taylor: But don't you feel that as long as we rely on *nuclear* deterrence—even if we're talking about 10 nuclear weapons on both sides—that the threat of the use of nuclear weapons, however remote the probability of use, is unacceptable, given what a nuclear war would be like?

Carnesale: If you're going to make the best be the enemy of the good I'm going to make no progress at all. I'd give up.

Taylor: I want to set realistic goals, too—

Carnesale: I refuse to hold out this perfect world and diminish the likelihood that I'm going to make things *better*. This gets back precisely to our discussion about derogating deterrence.

Taylor: Let me ask again, from the activists' interest in getting these arsenals reduced—is one of your possible end points something which approaches abolition?

Carnesale: It depends on other things. Suppose, and this is not unreasonable to assume, that 10 nuclear weapons were just not a credible deterrent; the other side didn't believe you'd use it. Well, you've made the world safe for conventional weapons—if no other changes take place. Now, there are many people who'd say,

"I'd rather have a higher risk of a major nuclear war and not have World War II's repeated every year." That's where we are now. That's why we first built up the nuclear arsenal. So other things have to take place. That's why changes in the political relationship are essential to anything meaningful.

THE POLITICAL DIMENSION

Taylor: What kind of questions are you asking in the political area?

Carnesale: We're trying to look back, learn a little bit from history. Because changes in relationships have taken place before—

Taylor: Look at China—

Carnesale: That's relatively recent, but even earlier than that. What has happened when there was essentially a bipolar system, and it *changed*? Take, for example, the British and the French. Now, unfortunately, most of the time part of the transformation is war, because that's the danger of a declining empire. But it doesn't appear that it's *necessary*.

I think more likely than a perfect defense is that the Soviet-American relationship would transform into the British-American relationship. Do I consider that likely? No. I consider that almost, but not quite, impossible.

Taylor: But wouldn't you agree that improving the Soviet-American relationship is necessary before we can think about disarming in a way that's stable?

Carnesale: In fact, reducing our own aggressive tendency can be valuable even if we don't become tulips. Improving the Soviet-American relationship can be useful even if it doesn't become the U.S.-Canada relationship. You can think of changes in the Soviet-American relationship that do not make us loving compatriots but where we no longer rely on the threat of blowing up the world to keep the competition from entering some level of military conflict. There might almost be a little more *acceptability* of conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union in the long-term. Maybe it would be better if there were a system where armed conflict is even a little *more* likely if we can make sure that it doesn't wind up escalating into nuclear war. It sounds crazy—

Taylor: Don't you think that political competition can exacerbate the problem?

Carnesale: Sure it can, and we do at times increase the risk of nuclear war to achieve our objectives. We do it, and so do they, and I feel that's appropriate. We [at Harvard] would like to achieve a world where such trade-offs need not be made.

Taylor: One of the things the Freeze Campaign did, along with Physicians for Social Responsibility and others, was to begin to put a kind of label on nuclear weapons as fundamentally different from other kinds of weapons—to de-legitimize them. I think people at the local level are committed to continuing to do that. Do you think there's anything potentially risky about that, given your views on deterrence?

Carnesale: [De-legitimizing] them does undermine deterrence some. It makes it harder to depend on, it makes it less credible. I have no difficulty recognizing that

cost and saying that it is outweighed by the benefit.

But I think the thing to keep in mind is to be careful not to undermine deterrence, not to say, for example, that these weapons are so evil that under *no* circumstances should they be used.

Taylor: I think it is hard to imagine a situation where it would be rational, or there would be utility, in using nuclear weapons. I think it's very hard, particularly for an average citizen, to imagine that. Perhaps if you could come up with some scenario where the benefit—

Carnesale: This is a fundamental paradox. When one talks about this as a deterrent it means that there must be *some* conditions where the West would be willing to use nuclear weapons to defend its interests.

Taylor: But don't you think we should be rethinking how one defines "vital interests"?

Carnesale: We [at Harvard] joke that there ought to be a museum some place of all the vital interests—

Taylor: But in terms of reducing the likelihood of nuclear war, if we could reduce the number of interests we consider vital—

Carnesale: Here is where I don't think the benefits exceed the costs. If your only objective was to reduce the likelihood of nuclear war then the fewer vital interests the better. But it's not our country's only objective. Otherwise, we would give up.

Taylor: I'm not talking about abandoning all our global commitments. I'm talking about re-examining them. Is that a problem for you?

Carnesale: It *is* a problem. If you're going to do such an examination, you need more things in your mind than reducing the likelihood of nuclear war. I don't want to tell the Soviets, "Don't worry, that one's not really vital—if you really pushed us on that one we'd back off." Why should we do that? It is true that might reduce the likelihood of nuclear war. On the other hand, it might not.

Taylor: It does seem that it's worth looking at what interests are being served and which are really "vital."

Carnesale: I think if you went to most Americans and said, "We have a deal that says: If Soviet troops come into Europe, and our European friends are losing, we're prepared to use nuclear weapons against the Soviet Union, start a major nuclear war in which our cities will be destroyed, their cities will be destroyed, all in order to try and deter a successful attack on Europe"—I think a large faction of the American public would say, "Wait a minute, what? You're talking about *what*?" I'm not sure how you would come out if you tried to get the American people to *vote* on whether Europe was a vital interest—

Taylor: But I think with Europe there are long historical—

Carnesale: I'm not going to let you get away with that—

Taylor: I'm asking if we should re-examine these things—

Carnesale: I give up. The answer is yes, but—

Taylor: There are questions of degree. I mean, Europe is one thing, and El Salvador and the Philippines—

Carnesale: If the conclusion is, Europe is a vital interest *and* the risk of nuclear war is unacceptable, then you have to say, "Good, then we should spend a lot more on conventional defenses." What's the chance of that happening? I think it's approximately zero that we'll spend a lot more on conventional defenses.

Taylor: Is there anything else you would suggest that local citizens and public interest groups should be looking at for the long-term?

Carnesale: I think it is important that they not lose sight of the near-term in thinking about the long, because the influence the activists have on the arms control process, on the Administration, is important. There is the danger that if they get off into only the long term—

Taylor: I don't think that will happen. □

Beyond The Bomb...

Imagining a non-nuclear defense

BY MARK SOMMER

Protest has long been the antinuclear movement's strong suit. Opponents of the nuclear arms race have always known far better what is wrong with present policies and strategies than with what they would replace them. This is understandable. Present policies are all too real and specific, while proposed alternatives are at best untested hypotheses. Yet this emphasis has left the movement at a critical disadvantage in reaching a public interested in solutions rather than problems —with what *will* work rather than with what does not. Opponents of the arms race have allowed themselves to be cast in the roles of nay-sayers. They have not yet developed a compelling image and design of their own.

During the past several years, this longstanding imbalance has begun to come aright. A new era of invention has arrived. Recognizing that the better ideas which might take us beyond the Bomb will never be invented by those with their fingers on the button, a growing variety of researchers in North America, East and West Europe, and elsewhere have been designing and envisioning alternative ways of achieving security in which armed force no longer plays a central role.

What is new and in fact revolutionary in the work of these alternative theorists is that they have begun to consider the achievement of peace as more than a matter of mere wishing, as at least partly a challenge of deliberate design. As military strategists have so long and systematically planned for war, so these thinkers are beginning to plan for peace. Working in isolation from one another and largely without financial resources, these researchers have been sketching strikingly similar designs for their peaceable worlds and the likely transitions to them.

There is as yet no integrated vision of a world beyond the Bomb. Even to assert that such a world is possible is, in these

MARY ANN SMITH

times, a profoundly transformative act. What we have at the moment is a kaleidoscope of images and designs which nonetheless bear a certain familial resemblance.

What follows is a look at just a few of many promising ideas.

ALTERNATIVE DEFENSE

The past few years have seen the emergence, first in western Europe and more recently in the United States, of a new body of thinking somewhere between arms control and disarmament.

A number of theorists have begun to ask themselves whether and how a defense might be fashioned that doesn't depend on threats and yet doesn't threaten one's own security. These researchers have sought to draw a distinction between destructive and protective capabilities, between defense as attack and defense as the capacity to repel attack. Variously termed "non-provocative defense," "defense without offense," and "just defense," they all call for:

- Greatly reducing our reliance on nuclear weapons, both strategic and tactical
- Greatly increasing our reliance on weapons more useful for defense than offense, making ample use of recent advances in defensive weapons technologies like precision-guided munitions
- Developing strategies strong in the defensive mode and deliberately weak in the offensive to signal adversaries that they need not fear attack but that they will not succeed if *they* attack
- Confining defense to the territory of one's own nation and eschewing claims beyond one's borders.

The most comprehensive effort to translate these principles of a non-threatening defense into the circumstances of a single nation has been the Alternative Defence Commission's *Defence Without the Bomb*, a detailed plan for a Britain without nuclear weapons. In the United States, Dietrich Fischer has developed a general theory for a non-provocative defense in his recent book, *Preventing War in the Nuclear Age*.

ALTERNATIVE SECURITY

While alternative defense theory confines itself to the hardware and strategies of military defense, an alternative security system includes a broad spectrum of non-military initiatives.

By an integrated foreign policy of economic incentives, diplomatic initiatives, development assistance, and participation in global institutions—and by a domestic policy that emphasizes a robust but non-exploitive economy, an equitable distribution of wealth, and a vital social culture—a system of alternative security creates an environment in which military defense is no longer an overwhelming preoccupation.

Norwegian peace researcher Johan Galtung has devised a four-part system of alternative security uniting military and non-military elements:

- "Transarming" from an offensive to a purely defensive military posture (as in Switzerland)
- Decoupling from superpower alliances
- Cultivating a sound and self-reliant economy, a healthy ecology, and an equitable and stable social system
- Enhancing one's usefulness to would-be adversaries, thus assuring that the rewards of peace always remain greater than the potential spoils of war.

DISARMAMENT

Although there is no dearth of good ideas about how to dispose of the arsenals which now so burden us, none of them appear to possess a compelling motivation to bring them into being. An exception, perhaps, is the strategy of independent initiatives. First proposed nearly a quarter of a century ago by psychologist Charles Osgood, GRIT (Graduated Reciprocation In Tension-Reduction) sought to harness the momentum generated by one side's carefully measured movements in the direc-

Mark Sommer is the author of Beyond the Bomb: Living Without Nuclear Weapons, *just published by ExPro Press, and available for $7.95 from the Talman Company, 150 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10011. Research for the book included interviews in the United States and Europe.*

tion of peace as a means of inducing—and if necessary, pressuring—its adversary into reciprocal gestures.

The Soviet Union's nuclear test moratorium and proposal for phased nuclear disarmament by the year 2000 demonstrate the continuing potential of an initiative strategy. But it also reveals its limitations, for in the absence of support from an informed and aroused public the responding government may dismiss the initiative without incurring any serious political cost.

NONVIOLENCE

Nonviolent action likely has more to offer than any other tradition towards the resolution of the nuclear conundrum. Nonviolent defense has been under development by a small but determined community of researchers for a quarter of a century. As proposed by its foremost theorist, Harvard University's Gene Sharp, "civilian-based defense" elevates what has historically been a purely *ad hoc* resistance to tyranny and invasion into a formal strategy. Basing its strength on the seldom recognized truth that all political power ultimately depends on the cooperation or acquiescence of the governed, civilian-based defense seeks, by a variety of broad-based, unified resistance strategies, to withdraw that consent and thus undermine even the most oppressive invader. "There are no white flags of surrender in civilian-based defense," Sharp has written, and this prospect is designed to deter invasion.

During the past several years, The Netherlands, Sweden, Belgium, and France have sponsored small-scale feasibility studies of nonviolent defense. In West Germany, the Green Party has adopted "social defense" as its proposed alternative to current dependence on NATO and nuclear weapons. None of these studies or proposals envisions abandoning military defense, now or ever. All view nonviolent defense as supplementing, rather than supplanting, the military component. But Gene Sharp views such modest beginnings as an opening wedge through which more significant transformations may one day pass.

What I see in this and much other evidence is an implicit consensus of perspective amid a variety of approaches: common defense in place of unilateral offense and a multilayered mutual security based on strategies of nonviolence. One of the richest traditions in alternative thinking is that it is not an ideology—at least, not yet. And we can be thankful for that. When there are too few options on the table and too few in the public mind, it is our first order of business to propagate new choices, to initiate a season of benign invention. □

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Looking Forward: The Next 25 Years

Although the public is well aware that nuclear war cannot be fought, and that attempts to limit or mitigate its damage are illusory, it has not yet moved beyond a profound ambivalence about the continuing nuclear arms race. Questions of military utility aside, the public remains susceptible to arguments that more nuclear weapons are needed for purposes of political coercion or bargaining.

Through public forums and a new symposium series beginning in the fall of this year, PSR will help the public work past its ambivalence through discussions of the policy choices we face.

With the ongoing negotiations and summit meetings, PSR will focus public attention in its grass-roots campaigns on the choices that need to be taken to prevent nuclear war. The campaigns will center around such choices as a multilateral comprehensive test ban versus unilateral reliance on modernization, strategic and civil defense programs versus negotiated reductions, and spending on military hardware versus investment in more fundamental sources of economic, military and political security. For more information, contact: Physicians for Social Responsibility, 1601 Connecticut Av NW, Ste. 800, Washington, D.C. 20009 (202) 939-5750.

SANE

Bishop Desmond Tutu stands, arms fully outstretched, eyes closed, head raised, as if in prayer. The sense of power, of spirit, in the huge hall is palpable. He is finishing now. After a long litany of the injustices and outrages in South Africa, in Central America, of the obscene waste of the nuclear arms race, he is thankful. Imagine—thankful. And humorous.

Bishop Tutu has just received the SANE Peace Award at a benefit for SANE's nationally-syndicated radio program *Consider The Alternatives*. Nearly 1,000 key supporters of SANE and other disarmament, civil rights, anti-apartheid, labor, and religious groups have assembled to hear this man who seems indefatigable, even cheerful, while struggling against an intolerable, inhumane system. The Philadelphia congressional delegation is here, as is David Cortright of SANE, and heads of other organizations—AFSC, WILPF, Women Strike for Peace, and many more.

"A friend sent a cartoon to me," Tutu smiles. "In it, God is rummaging about his desk. It says, 'I seem to have lost my divine plan.' " His audience and Tutu laugh, deeply, heartily. Then, he turns serious. "How can there be a God who allows such injustice? How can he do nothing?" Absolute silence. Bishop Tutu speaks very softly. He tells of the long struggle since the African National Congress was formed believing in nonviolence in 1912, of the Sharpeville massacre, of how his people have continued to struggle, and how much it means now that Americans finally seem to care. He describes his vision of a non- racial South Africa, of a world freed from war and want. And he tells how 20,000 South Africans, mostly black, came out to honor Molly Blackburn, a white woman, when she was killed in the struggle for freedom. "We honor her because she was a person. Not a black person or a white person. But a person." It is a vision, Bishop Tutu says, nurtured by Martin Luther King, and carried on in many ways by those assembled here before him. They deserve the thanks, and God, who at moments like this allows us to see a vision of a truly human, loving society.

"You did not have to care, did not have to work for peace and justice, to march in the cold and in the heat, to be arrested. You could have done nothing."

And so Tutu is finishing. How many times has each person in this cavernous, chandeliered ballroom wondered whether the struggle for peace is worth the bone-wearying effort? Whether one person or any group of persons can truly make a difference?

"Thank you," says the Bishop, eyes closed, his hands coming clasped together now. "God carries us all, his whole universe, in his hands. He has you, he has me, in his hand. And we are precious, utterly precious in his sight. And he loves us, all of us, black and white together. Amen." **—Bob Musil**

Bob Musil is SANE's Director of Communications and Education and Executive Producer of Consider The Alternatives. *Audio cassettes of SANE's nationwide broadcast of the highlights of the SANE Peace Award Dinner are available for $8 from the SANE Education Fund, 5808 Greene St., Philadelphia, PA 19144. Or Mastercard/Visa, toll free 1-800-453-4004. Ask for CTA program number 695.*

PEACE LINKS

Peace Links is a national network of over 40,000 women who are leading their families, organizations and communities in activities that will ultimately lead to ending the threat of nuclear war. Our purpose is to reach and activate an entirely new group of people, many of whom have not previously been active in the political process. We encourage women to use everyday activities such as coffee parties and club meetings to put peace on the agenda of mainstream groups. We help women—both on the local and state level—to form networks of people committed to educating themselves and others. It is our goal to constantly increase the number of people who have made a commitment to preventing nuclear war.

Peace Links' 1986 Agenda: Global Awareness and Vote Peace!

Real security is based upon an understanding of ourselves and others. This was brought home to thousands across the country during the Peace Links Soviet Women's Exchange recently, when we realized how little most Americans know about the Soviet Union. If we are to keep this planet whole, we must learn how to share it with others who are not like us. This year, Peace Links will be fostering programs to facilitate understanding of other cultures and to explore methods of nonviolent conflict resolution.

Some of our local groups have already begun working on Global Awareness. A Waterloo, Iowa, Peace Links group is working on a project called "Visions for Peace" which develops peace-oriented public school curricula. Metrolinks, our D.C.-area group, is collaborating with Educators for Social Responsibility and Physicians for Social Responsibility in gathering community support for integration of the concept "Beyond Violence—Raising Children to Build a Peaceful World" into the Montgomery County public school curriculum.

Another major thrust of this election year's activity will be to teach skills to mainstream women so that they themselves can vote for peace, and can reach others with the message that the most vital issue of the election is prevention of nuclear war. The goal is to make sure candidates receiving support are committed to de-escalating the arms race and taking concrete steps toward peace.

A typical Peace Links model for this is the Women's Forum, a workshop-like format for teaching women skills for participating effectively in the electoral process. Some topics covered in the Forum are: how a typical campaign functions, determining and influencing candidates' views on nuclear weapons policy, how to use local media, how to fundraise, and how to cultivate general election year skills.

Peace Links will provide packets of information on how to organize such forums and other election year skills, as well as information on Global Awareness. Interested persons may receive this material by writing to Peace Links, 747 8 St., SE, Washington, DC 20003.

THE FREEZE

The story of nuclear freeze resolutions began in western Massachusetts in November 1980. By 1984, it had become a tale of 370 cities and 71 county councils in all parts of the United States. The story of freeze resolutions had also become a tale of New England town meetings, 446 of them. And of 23 state legislative bodies, each calling for the United States and the Soviet Union to impose a bilateral, verifiable freeze on all testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons.

As the freeze swept from coast-to-coast, paid freeze staff was hired in 35 states. A national staff with a grass-roots focus was placed in three locations, then consolidated to become Freeze Campaign headquarters in Washington, D.C.

In mid-1985, the freeze and other groups dug in at their grass roots. By use of techniques from the early days of the Freeze Campaign, one million summit-bound signatures were collected on petitions calling for a comprehensive test ban, the first step toward a bilateral, verifiable nuclear weapons freeze. Last November Freeze leaders, SANE leaders and the Reverend Jesse Jackson carried the signatures to President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev in Geneva. In August, September, and October, however, while name after name was being added, a familiar phenomenon emerged: three city councils debated and passed resolutions, this time calling for a comprehensive nuclear test ban.

Now it's spring of 1986, and the Freeze is building on that tale of three cities—Azusa, West Covina, and South El Monte, California. The Freeze and SANE have devised a grass-roots resolution to be debated and voted on, starting this spring, by government bodies ranging from town meetings to state legislatures. The new resolution calls for a nuclear warhead testing freeze. It asks the President to extend to the Soviets the same offer of a mutual moratorium they have twice extended to us. If the President doesn't act by March 31, 1986, the resolution calls upon Congress to cut funds to bring about a *de facto* test ban, so long as the Soviets continue to refrain from testing. And it calls for negotiations on a comprehensive test ban treaty.

Grass-roots Freeze Campaign plans for spring and summer include collecting test ban support pledges from 1986 House and Senate candidates. Local lobbying (including vigils outside of home state offices) will be stepped up for incumbents who are slow to sign pledges, especially at the time of key votes and during congressional recess.

During May and June, local Freeze groups across the country will carry out colorful Freeze walks, a traditional fundraising event focused this year on halting Star Wars as well as on a test ban.

On May 31, Freeze supporters from many parts of the country will join the American Peace Test at our nation's primary nuclear warhead test site outside Las Vegas, Nevada for a day of legal actions protesting our government's continued warhead testing in the desert there. On June 1 those who choose to stay beyond the Freeze-sponsored day will be trained by the American Peace Test staff to cross into the test site the next day, in an act of nonviolent civil disobedience.

Sometime before the next summit, Freeze groups across the country will again gather thousands of signatures calling for a test ban. This time the signatures will appear in a wave of newspaper ads that will sweep the country, demonstrating one more time the determination of grass-roots Americans to win that first step toward a nuclear weapons freeze—a nuclear warhead test ban. For more information, contact the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, 220 I St. NE, Ste. 130, Washington, DC 20002 (202) 544-0880.

—Marguerite Beck-Rex

COALITION

For a New Foreign and Military Policy

We are delighted to be a member of the new *Nuclear Times* family of national groups and we are sure that our network members will be glad to get to know it. With a much larger readership, *Nuclear Times* should help knit together the widely-flung movement for arms control and peace. We wish it all success.

We will save for a future issue a fuller account of the Coalition and how our 58 member organizations work on many issues together. Here we want to mention a few of the ways our issues interlink, and raise a few questions not usually faced by peace groups.

However terrible the American nuclear arms buildup may be, however close to a first-strike capacity it may be bringing us, the cost of these weapons is only a small portion of our enormous military budget. Twenty percent of the budget goes to nuclear weapons (about $60 billion in 1985), but about *30 percent goes to land forces in West Germany*: 10 divisions of the U.S. army, at a cost of about $8 billion each, and part of a Marine division. One army division costs more than the 1985 expenditure on the MX, Star Wars, and the Trident D-5 combined.

An even larger sum, $137 billion or 45 percent of the total military budget, is dedicated to *Third World intervention*. We include under that rubric the Mediterranean fleet, which is officially assigned to NATO but in fact "projects power" against Lebanon and Libya; the Persian Gulf units that used to be called the Rapid Deployment Force; and the forces assigned to the Pacific and Latin America. Half the nuclear weapons in our arsenal cannot be considered "deterrence" in the usual sense; they are first-strike-capable weapons designed to deter not a Soviet attack on America but *any* move we dislike, in Europe, Iran, the Persian Gulf, Nicaragua, or anywhere else.

The American people would be reluctant to spend such fortunes on intimidating the Third World if they were not periodically frightened by images of the Russian menace, which are also used, of course, to justify our vast and superfluous nuclear arsenal. It doesn't seem to matter that the Soviets are in retreat almost everywhere, that they are surrounded by hostile populations (some of them with Communist governments) and bogged down in Afghanistan, that their economy is sagging and they lack computers, and so on: they are the Enemy. The smiles and handshakes in Geneva haven't changed their image much.

Human rights in Latin America and South Africa are held hostage to U.S. obsessions with Russia, and so we overthrow Allende and install Pinochet, we fund friends of Somoza so they may overthrow the Sandinistas, we help Savimbi, whom the South African government likes, to fight against the government of Angola. We prefer apartheid, which is "undergoing reforms," to a black majoritarian government that might be non-aligned.

Americans working for justice and human rights in Central America understand that U.S. nuclear weapons back up our interventionary threats. Those who are working for nuclear disarmament must try to understand the context and policies that build the weapons that threaten to kill us all. The MX and D-5 missiles are not just irrational overreactions to half-understood threats, not just plots to give money to important corporations, not just compensatory symbols for threatened Pentagon manhood. They also serve very specific foreign policy purposes, and in those purposes the countries of the Third World loom large.

For a full account of the 1985 military budget divided according to military mission, send 50 cents to the Coalition, 712 G St. SE, Washington, DC 20003.

ADPSR

Architects Designers Planners for Social Responsibility

President's Message— This is our first national newsletter brought to you under the auspices of *Nuclear Times*. From now on, national and chapter news will reach you in this format six times a year. ADPSR is now a national organization with 10 chapters across the United States. Our immediate goal is to expand our geographic spread and increase membership to 10,000. We continue to coordinate local programs and generate new ones at the national and international levels. Our recent admission to the prestigious Professionals' Coalition for Nuclear Arms Control has brought ADPSR's voice to Washington. Seemingly a positive step, the Geneva Summit must not relax our efforts. On the contrary, it is reason for stepped-up vigilance and pressure to turn the niceties into real arms control agreements.

Join us and work with us for a breakthrough in 1986.

—Tician Papachristou, FAIA
President, ADPSR

Last year ADPSR chapters held celebrations around National Membership Day on November 11-12.

- **New York** featured a talk by Richard J. Barnet, senior Fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies, with discussion by Ivan Chermayeff, Paul Friedberg, Vladimir Kagan, Beverly Russell and Walter Thabit. Three hundred guests attended, 120 of whom became new members.
- **The Delaware Valley (Philadelphia)** chapter cosponsored the local portion of the National Teleconference with the Union of Concerned Scientists, attended by 200 persons.
- **The Northern California** chapter joined with Physicians for Social Responsibility to present a program on the Geneva talks with Rear Admiral Eugene Carroll, Jr. USN (Ret.) and David Cohen, president of the Professionals' Coalition for Nuclear Arms Control.
- **The National Capital Area** chapter held membership and reorganization meetings.
- **Chicago** is proceeding with a series of posters on economic options to be displayed in the transit system.
- The **Los Angeles** chapter gave a party at the home of Shelly and Ray Kappe as part of a drive to increase membership, and the **Boston** chapter took advantage of the Boston Society of Architects convention for a similar purpose.
- In January, the **Seattle** chapter, in conjunction with Ploughshares, sent a group to the USSR to promote their Peace Park Project.

Coming in 1986...

- ADPSR events are planned for a number of annual meetings—the APA convention in **Los Angeles** on April 5-9; the AIA convention in **San Antonio**, June 8-11 (where the annual meeting of the ADPSR Board of Directors will also be held); and the ASLA convention in **San Francisco**, November 22-25.
- **New York** is planning the third annual auction of architects' drawings at the Max Protetch gallery in early June. This event raised over $37,000 last year.
- **Northern California** is coordinating the production of a national brochure which is due to come out by April.

For more information, contact: ADPSR, 225 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012 (212) 431-3756.

In any discussion of how to expand the movement to prevent nuclear war one conclusion is always reached: the movement must enlist more "mainstream" Americans. That is the principal aim of Citizens Against Nuclear War (CAN), a coalition in which 60 national membership organizations participate. They have diverse goals and professional interests, but all the organizations are on record for ending the nuclear arms race and most are for a mutual and verifiable nuclear weapons freeze.

Citizens Against Nuclear War was founded in 1982 by Terry Herndon, then the executive director of the largest teachers' union, the National Education Association. He was aware that many national organizations were interested in promoting policies that would reduce the risk of nuclear war but did not have enough research staff or resources for the task. He proposed forming an information center to help interested organizations educate their members on nuclear policies. Their own lobbyists would approach members of Congress as legislation on nuclear issues came up in Congress. A small coalition staff would act as the eyes and ears for the member organizations, sending them information, holding seminars for their staff members and writing articles for their publications.

That is the way CAN has functioned. Today, its members include major groups concerned with health, environment, religion and civil rights, among other issues. Well over 20 million individuals can be reached if all CAN members inform and mobilize their membership.

CAN's board of directors reflects the diversity of the members in the coalition. The organizations represented on the board are: American Association of University Women; Coalition of Black Trade Unionists and American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; National Council of Senior Citizens; National Education Association; Union of American Hebrew Congregations and Young Women's Christian Association. Two other founders of CAN serve with Terry Herndon on the board. They are Leon Shull, formerly ADA's executive director, and Morton Halperin, Washington director for the national ACLU. Day-to-day responsibilities are carried out by Karen Mulhauser, CAN's executive director.

Many organizations active in the nuclear disarmament and arms control movement are Associated Organizations that furnish expert information and close contacts for CAN's staff.

To become a member of Citizens Against Nuclear War an organization need fulfill only three requirements. It must be a national organization with individual members, it must have a primary purpose other than prevention of nuclear war, and it must have regular communications with its members. There are no dues, but each organization is asked to contribute to the coalition's support.

The organizations belonging to CAN have agreed on a short legislative agenda. It includes support for a mutual and verifiable freeze on nuclear weapons, a moratorium on nuclear tests leading to a comprehensive test ban treaty, and support for existing arms control agreements.

CAN is devoting major resources to reaching minority constituencies. Among groups that recently joined the coalition are Americans for Indian Opportunity, National Conference of Black Lawyers and National Institute for Women of Color. In all, 13 organizations with a membership primarily of minority men and women belong to Citizens Against Nuclear War.

For information on CAN, its members and how a national group you belong to can become a member, contact CAN, 1201 16 St. NW, Washington, DC 20036 (202) 822-7483.

EDUCATORS FOR SOCIAL RESPONSIBILTY

Today's students yearn for more than jobs with stock options, satanic rock videos, or the computer access code to Budweiser. They want to know what is happening in the world, and they need to know that their opinions are important.

How do we know? We are teachers, school administrators, and parents who listen to their questions, read their writing, and see the concern in their faces. Here is what we're doing about it.

We don't teach students *what* to think about nuclear issues. As educators, our most important responsibility is teaching students *how* to think critically about complex issues. We teach them to examine a range of perspectives, then reach their own conclusions. We encourage their efforts to participate as active citizens in a democracy. And we help students create and hold fast to a vision of a future worth working toward by nurturing their ideals and sense of community.

We are Educators for Social Responsibility, a professional membership organization of nearly 10,000 members and supporters. We have over 100 chapters in the United States and Canada. Our role in the nuclear age is educating tomorrow's decision makers about our planet's survival.

Not everyone sees it our way. Many communities are hesitant to allow controversial issues in the classroom—and nuclear issues may be the most controversial of all. In the face of difficulties such as shrinking school budgets, overworked teachers, and fear of attempted indoctrination, we introduce new lessons, bring in speakers, set aside a day or a week for students to create a mock summit. We present workshops and conferences for educators and community members. These efforts often require months of patience and persuasion.

How encouraged we are, then, when a city puts out an official welcome mat. "It is the responsibility of the public education system...to prepare students to understand and cope with reality and the facts of life in a nuclear age," reads the Los Angeles School Board resolution, passed last year. We've had more successes. San Francisco, Milwaukee, New York City, San Diego, Berkeley, and Baltimore have also voted to provide nuclear age education for their students. The National PTA, Camp Fire International, and the Massachusetts Superintendents Association have expressed their support for nuclear age education. Increasingly, people are recognizing that the nuclear age demands new ways of thinking.

You might expect us to use this forum in *Nuclear Times* to call for your help in introducing similar legislation across the country. But it wouldn't work. A school system really can't change without broadbased, grass-roots, community-wide support. Teachers must be able to get good materials, ongoing training programs, and supportive follow-up. Our chapters are working toward this goal.

How do we know our efforts are worthwhile? An 11th grade student, who signed up for a nuclear issues course, wrote to her local paper about her experience: "Not only do I feel more knowledgeable about nuclear issues, but I feel better equipped to try to understand current events that I felt were beyond me."

We must reach millions more—students, teachers, parents, and community members. Write to us at Educators for Social Responsibility, 23 Garden St., Cambridge, MA 02138 and we'll let you know about the ESR chapter nearest you.

Ideas That Work

Scratch an antinuclear activist and chances are you'll find a media critic. Local and national reporters rarely get-the-story-right. How to fight back? Publish your own newspaper. While the idea may seem daunting, it has been successfully carried out for a year now by a local Freeze chapter in Santa Cruz, California, a city of about 50,000 in northern California. *The Monthly Planet*, the group's attractive 28-page tabloid, is a refreshing alternative to the generic movement newsletter. And since thousands of copies are distributed throughout Santa Cruz County, it serves as both a link between area groups and an outreach tool to the mainstream community. All this—and it virtually pays for itself, too.

The *Planet* carries well-written (though unabashedly partisan) stories on a spectrum of local, national and international nuclear news. It also includes a Santa Cruz County calendar of antinuclear events, and legislative updates with names and addresses of area representatives.

Each issue has a run of 15,000 copies. Thirteen thousand free newspapers are distributed to stores, restaurants and other public places throughout the county; the rest are mailed to area Freeze members in lieu of a newsletter and given out at antinuclear events.

The *Planet's* success is largely due to its founders' pragmatism. "We knew we needed advertisers, so we went out and

TOM BLOOM

looked at existing free publications lying around in stores," says *Planet* editor John Govsky, the paper's only paid staff member. "We studied their formats, and who advertised in them, and we tried to come up with a tabloid that advertisers would feel comfortable with."

Their research has obviously paid off: advertising revenue for the *Planet's* ninth issue hit a record $2200, nearly covering its production costs. The average $2500 price tag per issue includes the editor's salary, and typesetting, printing, production and distribution costs. The *Planet's* modest budget is attributable to several factors: its ad solicitor works at home and gets paid by commission only; its writers and production staffers are volunteers; and it enjoys a break in typesetting, printing and distribution fees.

Planet staff members are eager to see organizations across the country pick up on their idea, particularly those with the strong financial bases needed to cover start-up expenses. "The *Planet* has increased our group's visibility, gotten us a lot of volunteers, and educated our members," Govsky says. "And people really enjoy working on it—it's educational, it's concrete, and there's a great feeling knowing that it's reaching so many people." If the idea appeals to you, contact Govsky at *The Monthly Planet*, c/o the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, 320-G Cedar St, Santa Cruz, CA 95060 (408) 429-8755.

Elsewhere in California, activists have come up with a novel approach to the problem of effective outreach to "disaffected" communities: the poor, the old, and people who live in out-of-the-way locations. The solution comes in the form of a bright red, double-decker bus—called the Martin Luther King Jr. Peacemobile—which is equipped as a mobile community resource center for the San Francisco area. Organizers say that it is the first of its kind in the country. "While our concerns may be grim," says Jean Ishibashi, disarmament associate for the American Friends Service Committee's Northern California office, "our *vehicle* is attractive."

And it holds a lot: an Apple II computer, typewriter, copy machine, film projector, lounge, stove, child care area stocked with toys and games, meeting areas, and a host of multi-language literature on peace issues.

The idea behind the Peacemobile, which took to the road a year ago, is to tangibly unite the work of disarmament and human needs groups. Its stops have included elementary schools, where children played "Harvest Time," a video game that encourages cooperation rather than competition; a "drug-intensive" public housing project, where a discussion on the arms race emphasized how the country is overdosing on military spending; and the University of California at Berkeley, where a five-hour program featured workshops on terrorism, video screenings on the draft, and a poetry reading.

While the Peacemobile's sponsoring organizations, which include antinuclear, feminist, and tenant groups, offer their own programs, they are now encouraging other community groups to make the bus their own for a day. "We are looking at the bus as a resource that people can check out like a library book," says Ishibashi.

People who use the bus's services often ask sponsoring groups how they can repay the favor. "That's where the typewriter [on the bus] comes in," Ishibashi says. "We ask them to sit down and write a letter to their representatives, telling them to get money redirected from the arms race back to human needs. If they can't type, we'll do it for them. Or we ask them to sign a petition, or bring one back to their apartment building for everyone to sign." One particularly appealing Peacemobile feature is its radio/telephone, which is hooked up to the bus's PA system. Individuals can call the office of their representative in Washington, D.C.—while the whole block listens in. "It's the kind of doorstep democracy that makes people more accountable," Ishibashi says.

Peacemobile activists want to see a fleet of buses operating across the country. Groups need substantial seed money; AFSC bought its double-decker for around $25,000, but regular buses or vans are considerably cheaper. The Peacemobile Project can be reached at: AFSC Northern California Regional Office, 2160 Lake St, San Francisco, CA 94121-1229 (415) 752-7766.

—Renata Rizzo

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Resources

Ann Marie Cunningham

BOOKS

The Politics of Euromissiles: Europe's Role in America's World, by Diana Johnstone. The talented European correspondent for the newspaper *In These Times* provides an analytic political history of the deployment of Pershing and cruise missiles in Europe—a maneuver which the Reagan Administration counts as one of its greatest victories. She recounts why the United States, especially the anti-NATO right, wanted the missiles, why "fragmented Europe" accepted them, and the consequences for U.S. foreign policy and the European peace movement. (Verso/Schocken paper, $6.95.)

How Peace Came to the World, edited by Earl W. Foell and Richard Nenneman, with a foreword by Kurt Waldheim. Last year, the *Christian Science Monitor* sponsored a "Peace 2010" essay contest, asking readers to submit their ideas on how the arms race could be ended by 2010. There were no prizes—simply the satisfaction of publication. The stimulating proposals of over 1300 European and American men and women, most of them professionals and scholars (along with Governor Lamm of Colorado), are organized in chapters devoted to such issues as superpower relations, peace as an aftermath of a disastrous war, and the need for a change of consciousness. A readable, inspiring volume. (The MIT Press, $13.95 hardcover.)

GUIDES

Planning for a Nuclear Weapons Free Environment: Model Legislation and Legal Commentary, by Mark C. Cogan. Since 1983, the Lawyers' Committee on Nuclear Policy has been working with Nuclear Free America to advise American communities who want to declare themselves nuclear free zones. This essential guide provides a model ordinance and commentary that draws on communities' experiences and four recent court decisions, including the Cambridge, Massachusetts, ban on chemical weapons. ($4 from the Lawyers' Committee, 225 Lafayette St, Rm 513, New York, NY 10012 212-334-8044.)

REPORTS

World Military and Social Expenditures 1985, by Ruth Leger Sivard. This tenth-anniversary edition of a classic illustrates more graphically than ever the gap between military costs and social needs. Sivard effectively demonstrates that military endeavor far outstrips any other 20th-century political goal. Aside from the lives lost in contemporary wars, Sivard documents the social costs: while $800 billion a year is spent on weapons, one adult in three is illiterate; one in four goes hungry. "Before any weapons are used," Sivard concludes, "they have already taken a human toll." ($5 from World Priorities, Inc., Box 25140, Washington, DC 20007 202-965-1661.)

The Women's Budget, by Jane Midgley. This proposed national budget attempts to refocus the skewed priorities that Sivard documents. In chapters on housing, nutrition, education, community development, the Federal budget deficit, and other areas, this report analyzes the results of current spending, especially the deleterious effects on women, and recommends alternative policies. ($3 each, $2.50 each for 10 or more copies. Include 20 percent postage. Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1213 Race St, Philadelphia, PA 19107-1691 215-563-7110.)

AntiSatellite Weapons. This Union of

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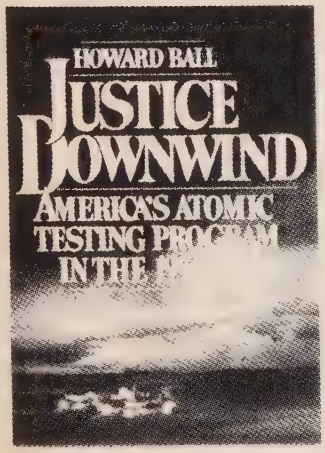
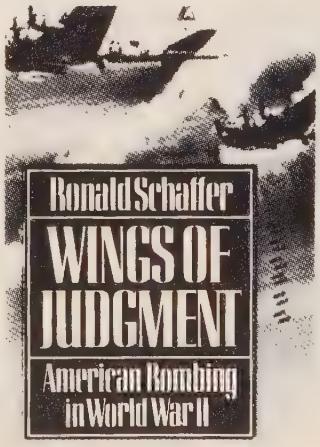


This is the astonishing story of how the United States exploded atomic weapons on its own soil. For over a decade, from 1951 to 1963, the U.S. government used the Nevada Test Site to detonate above-ground atomic bombs as part of its postwar military nuclear testing program, exposing 100,000 people to fallout. This book based on interviews with all parties and on extensive archival research into the files of the Atomic Energy Commission, tells the story of the clash between the "downwinders" and the government. **"A penetrating account of a stunning human tragedy."**—Michael Brown, author of *Laying Waste*

Excerpted in the New York Times Magazine $21.95

and abroad



More than just a book about the strategy and outcome of American bombing in World War II, this is a penetrating look at how strategic decisions are made in wartime and raises fundamental issues of vital concern in any war. *Wings of Judgment* takes us behind the scenes at military headquarters and looks closely at the people responsible for how the U.S. carried out its air war—not only military officers and statesmen but businessmen, scientists, and fire insurance experts as well. Why were some of these people more willing than others to discuss the moral impact of military decisions? **"Admirable, brisk, and with no axe to grind."**—*Kirkus Reviews* $18.95

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Resources

Concerned Scientists' briefing paper covers the importance of satellites, the nature of antisatellite weaponry, arms control possibilities, and how limits on ASATs could be verified. This digest points out that "There is still opportunity for meaningful ASAT arms control to forestall the emergence of advanced ASATs that would seriously undermine stability." (1–9 copies free; 10 or more, 10¢ each from UCS Publications Department, 26 Church St, Cambridge, MA 02238 617-547-5552.)

NEWSLETTERS

Soviet BMD Technology: A Decade Behind the United States, by Eric Stubbs. This December 1985 issue of the newsletter of the Council on Economic Priorities outlines the preliminary findings of an ongoing study of SDI and its economic implications. At the moment, the Soviets lag in the computers, sensing, and tracking technologies necessary for a viable defense system. But if the space defense race escalates, "the push could provide a powerful incentive for the Soviet technical infrastructure and help create a more vigorous and technically capable USSR in the 21st century." (Single copies, $4, subscription and membership, $25, Council on Economic Priorities, 30 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003 212-420-1133.)

Detente This interesting, well-written quarterly devoted to better understanding of the Soviet Union is edited by Dr. Jeff Gleisner, a political scientist at the University of Leeds, with an editorial board of other British scholars. Each issue includes about 10 essays, and tries to highlight subjects that the editors feel get short shrift elsewhere. Recent issues have covered the Kremlin's Americanists, Gorbachev's Russia, and the Soviet debate over Star Wars. ($3 per issue, $12 individual subscription, $18 institutional subscription from Ann Helgeson, Center for Russian and East European Studies, University of Birmingham, PO Box 363, Birmingham, England B15 2TT.)

TEACHING PEACE

Child's Play Resource Guide, compiled by Ruth Barrett, Marianne Philbin *et al* for the Peace Museum. This extremely useful and unusual guide is the catalog of a recent exhibit of alternatives to war toys and games. Some of these new toys were designed especially for the show. The guide also recommends children's books, helpful organizations, guides and ideas for the classroom and for parents who want to give the kids something besides G.I. Joe. ($6, including postage, from the Peace Museum, 430 West Erie St, Chicago, IL 60610 312-440-1860.)

Literary and Artistic Images of the Human Cost of War: An Introduction to the Problem and An Annotated Bibliography of Works Suitable for Secondary and College Level Courses. This guide is devoted to books, articles, audio-visual materials, drawings and paintings, music, poetry and photographs that graphically and accurately depict the true nature of war and its tragic consequences. It includes standards like Kathe Kollwitz's lithographs and Stephen Crane's *The Red Badge of Courage* along with less well known works and peace groups' material. ($5.95, including postage, from War/Watch Foundation, PO Box 487, Eureka Springs, AR 72632 501-253-9134.)

BUMPER STICKERS

SANE has produced a **Peace Is Patriotic** bumper sticker with all of the essentials—it's red, white and blue and features the American flag. ($1 each, 50 cents for 20 or more from SANE, 711 G St SE, Washington, DC 20003.) □

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Essential reading for all concerned with the ethics of nuclear weapons policies, this book brings together the views of both philosophers and strategists. Contributors include: Richard Wasserstrom, Colin Gray, Richard Ullman, Sissela Bok, Robert Tucker, Robert Art, Gerald Dworkin, and Jan Narveson.

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Notes From Abroad

Throughout the **Pacific**, opposition to naval nuclear weapons is gathering strength. Since New Zealand announced its ban on port calls by nuclear armed vessels—and since the Marcos government in the Philippines began to show signs of mortality—Pacific watchers

TOM BLOOM

have noticed a new pattern of U.S. naval activity. Port calls to island nations such as Fiji, Tonga and Western Samoa, hitherto off the warships' beaten track, have increased in frequency. And they are often accompanied by good-will gestures—tours of the ships for the islanders, or community work among the needy by American sailors.

But the Navy is still dogged by protesters. In Suva, Fiji, the frigates *Brooke* and *Reid* were recently greeted by a silent picket, defying the pro-American stance of Prime Minister Ratu Mara. A month after the Navy's visit, Suva elected eight members of the newly-formed Labor Party to its municipal council who, with some independent councillors, voted in a new Lord Mayor: Bob Kumar, the president of the Fiji Antinuclear Group (FANG).

Officials in Western **Australia** have asked the United States to reduce the number of warships visiting ports there, because of opposition from the peace movement and local representatives of the ruling Labor Party.

● The deep, cold waters of Nanoose Bay, **British Columbia**, are regularly pierced by American torpedoes and by submarines almost certainly carrying nuclear-armed sea-launched cruise missiles (SLCMs). For the last 20 years, Nanoose has been the home of the Canadian Forces Maritime Experimental and Test Ranges, built and maintained by Canada but used by the United States. In 1976 the agreement governing the range was secretly renewed and expanded. The Canadian peace movement has made sure that when the agreement expires again in April 1986, the public will know what is at stake. The Nanoose Conversion Campaign, founded in November 1984, has set up a peace camp on the bay, circulated a slide show presentation about economically feasible alternative uses for the area and, in January, hosted a People's Enquiry.

● In 1982, the Spanish Socialist Party came to power on a platform that included a promise of a referendum on **Spain's** continued membership in NATO. But since then, Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez seems to have suffered a change of heart. March is the last possible time for the vote to be held, and if a referendum *is* held, it is unclear whether the result will be legally binding. The government has also mounted an energetic propaganda campaign in favor of the alliance. (Last April, an opinion poll showed that 54 percent of voters wanted to leave NATO, while only 19 percent wanted to remain.) A peace movement demonstration about the referendum in November reportedly brought out more than half a million people; a second event is planned for March.

● The **British** Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament's plans for 1986 include a major campaign against SDI, a renewed public education drive on the case for British unilateral nuclear disarmament, and a focus on Britain's second cruise missile base at Molesworth, now under construction. A national demonstration was held at Molesworth on February 6. Meanwhile, the Government has passed a new Public Order Bill, which seriously infringes on citizens' rights to protest. The bill establishes a new offense, "disorderly conduct," which will allow police to arrest anyone deemed to be causing harassment, alarm or distress. Those accused will be tried by magistrates, without a jury. The bill also gives the police the power to decide whether meetings, assemblies and mass pickets can gather.

At **Greenham Common**, there are rumors of a more sinister kind of crowd control. A Canadian Broadcasting Corporation TV documentary about the peace camp at the base suggested that the women there are being "zapped" by microwave radiation. Many of them have experienced symptoms associated with such radiation, including drowsiness, headaches and ringing of the ears, as well as severe menstrual disorders, vomiting and sunburn. The women were initially reluctant to publicize these effects, since the British media seizes on every opportunity to portray them as "hysterical." But though there is no proof that they are being deliberately "zapped"—a military base puts out all kinds of radio emissions—there is some evidence that the base's disc cone antennas may be so aligned that they beam energy at the women.

—Maria Margaronis

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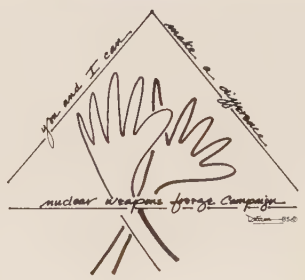

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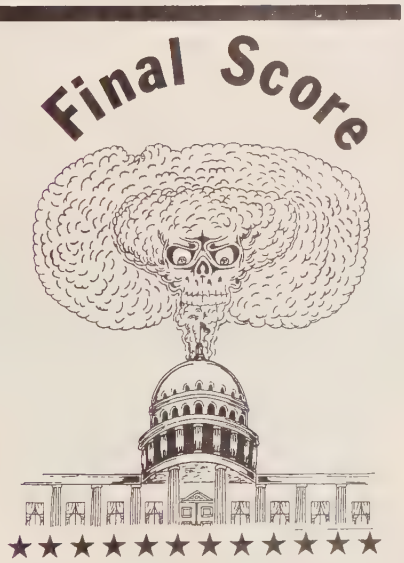

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The Nuclear Devil's Dictionary

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ASSOCIATIONS

Bertrand Russell Society. Information: NT, RD 1, Box 409, Coopersburg, PA 18036

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MAKE YOUR OWN PERSONAL SUMMIT FOR WORLD PEACE. Take the first step in resolving conflict with a personal adversary on March 8th, International Women's Day, to support Gorbachev's unilateral test ban. Change the energy from negative to positive. It's up to you. This suggestion brought to you by Feminist International for Peace and Food, 2100 Travis, Rm. 1203, Houston, TX 77002.

"Peace Correspondents" wanted for contact/exchange with West Germans. Write (in English) US-German Peace Embassy, c/o Lilo Klug, Katzensteige 40-1, 7100 Heilbronn, West Germany.

EMPLOYMENT

Executive Director, WILPF: Responsible for program, fiscal, personnel management and public relations of national women's organization in Philadelphia. Past experience with political, board/membership organization. Fringe benefits. Deadline April 1, 1986. Send resumes to WILPF—PJB, 1213 Race St., Philadelphia, PA 19107.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom is seeking a Legislative Director. Position available immediately. Qualifications are: commitment to goals of WILPF with desire to work for social change. Experience in legislative advocacy on a grass–roots level; speaking and writing ability. Knowledge of current issues and legislative process. Supervisory and office administration skills. Must be willing to relocate to Philadelphia or Washington, D.C. Salary: $17,000 with paid vacations and health benefits. Send resume, writing sample, and references to: WILPF National Office, 1213 Race St., Philadelphia, PA 19107-1619. ATTN: Pam Jones-Burnley.

WANTED: PEACE AND JUSTICE ORGANIZER to work on disarmament, Central American and South African issues. Duties: training, fundraising, media, volunteer coordination and church based organizing. 2-3 years experience. $12,000 + health insurance. Affirmative Action employer. Send cover letter, resume and three references to: John Carroll, Director, Carolina Peace Resource Center, P.O. Drawer #50426, Columbia, S.C. 29250, by Saturday, May 3, 1986.

CANVASS DIRECTOR—Denver, CO. **Western Solidarity**, eight-state antinuclear organization. $11-15,000+. Canvass experience required. More information: Western Solidarity, 2239 E. Colfax #204, Denver, CO. 80206. (303) 355-5124. Deadline: April 1, 1986.

Brooklyn Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign seeks Director of education, lobbying, media, fundraising and demonstrations. Organizing experience necessary. $150/week for 20 hours. Send resume ASAP to: Brooklyn Freeze/ 453 6th Avenue/ Brooklyn, NY 11215.

Director of Development for public, charitable foundation focused on prevention of nuclear war. Experience required. Resumes: Ploughshares Fund, Fort Mason, San Francisco, CA 94123.

NUCLEAR TIMES is accepting applications for internships. The program is a full-time apprenticeship in both editorial and business aspects of magazine publishing. Send resume and cover letter to *Renata Rizzo, Managing Editor, Nuclear Times, 298 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10001.*

Calendar

A free listing of antinuclear events from coast-to-coast. Please submit May and June events by April 1.

NATIONWIDE/ONGOING

PRO-PEACE TAKES OFF

During **March** and **April**, the PRO-Peace march will be traveling through **California**, **Nevada**, **Arizona**, **Utah** and **Colorado**. Local events will take place along the route. For more information, *contact*: PRO-Peace, 8150 Beverly Blvd, Ste 301, Los Angeles, CA 90048 (213) 653-6245.

SDI-LEMON IN THE SKY

Observe "Lemon Day" on **March 23 and 24** with groups across the country. Activists are encouraged to (among other things) send lemon peel shavings, with explanatory notes, to their favorite "lemon dealers" in Congress, the White House, the Defense Department, industry and academia. The event's sponsor, the STARS (Stop The Arms Race In Space) Committee, urges all participating groups to use the slogan "SDI—Lemon In The Sky" as a rallying cry, and consider variations on this theme (such as raffling off a "lemon"—a junk car). For more ideas and information, *contact*: The STARS Committee, 1660 Lafayette St, Denver, CO 80218 (303) 832-4508.

TRUCKWATCH

Nukewatch is organizing another "truck watch" campaign to monitor trucks carrying hydrogen bombs, this time with a focus on the Southwest, from **April 7–11**. *Contact*: Sam Day, Nukewatch, 315 W Gorham, Madison, WI 53703 (608) 256-4146.

TAX PROTESTS

National War Tax Protest Day, with rallies, demonstrations at IRS and post offices, and more; **April 15**. *Contact*: Larry Bassett, National War Tax Resistance Coordinating Committee, PO Box 223, Patchogue, NY 11722 (516) 654-8227.

RIBBON EXHIBIT

The Peace Ribbon exhibit continues **through April 30**, at the Textile Museum in Washington, D.C. *Contact*: Joan Monastero, Exhibit coordinator (914) 246-2350.

LENTEN DESERT EXPERIENCE

The fifth Lenten Desert Experience continues at the Nevada Test Site, **through March 30**, to protest the continued testing of nuclear weapons by the U.S. Department of Energy. Organizers have marked each Friday in Lent as times for civil disobedience; participants in such actions must adhere to nonviolent discipline and attend a nonviolent training session. For more information, *contact*: Nevada Desert Experience, PO Box 4487, Las Vegas, NV 89127-4814 (702) 646-4814.

MARCH 7

NEW YORK

• **New Hyde Park** Symposium, "The Bomb, the Mind, and the Future: Challenges for Health Professionals," with Eric Chivian, MD, Monika Eisenbud, MD, Robert Jay Lifton, MD, and others; Long Island Jewish Medical Center. *Contact*: Ann Boehme (718) 470-8650 or Jack Lawrence, Physicians for Social Responsibility (516) 378-4447.

CALIFORNIA

• **Hayward** Seminar, "Gender and War," will explore why men love war; aggression and sexuality; war in the nuclear age; and other topics, with Chellis Glendinning, psychologist and Fellow at the Peace and Common Security Institute and others; **through March 8**. *Contact*: Cal State University (415) 881-3605.

MARCH 8

CALIFORNIA

• **San Francisco** Conference on Star Wars, with Gerald Yonas, chief strategist for SDI; Richard Garwin, leading SDI critic; Randall Forsberg, Thomas Powers, and others; Palace of Fine Arts. *Contact*: Nuclear Freeze Campaign, 2940 16 St, San Francisco, CA 94103 (415) 621-7770.

MARYLAND

• **Sandy Spring** First annual statewide peace conference with workshops on federal spending priorities, nuclear free zones, nonviolent conflict resolution, tax resistance, and more, with Gretchen Eick, board member of the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, as keynote speaker; Quaker Meeting House. *Contact*: Maryland Campaign for a Nuclear Weapons Freeze, 301 E 25 St, Baltimore, MD 21218 (301) 476-6500.

MARCH 11

MASSACHUSETTS

• **Northampton** Panel discussion, "Defense Spending and the U.S. Economy," with Gordon Adams and others; Smith College. *Contact*: Michael Klare, Five College Peace and World Security Studies, Hampshire College, Amherst, MA 01002 (413) 549-4600 ext 563.

MARCH 12

PENNSYLVANIA

• **Philadelphia** 25th National Conference of Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR), with panel discussions, workshops, dinners and more, and featuring Jane Wales, Sidney Alexander, H. Jack Geiger, Victor Sidel, Steven Kull, Robert Jay Lifton, Joseph Nye, William Ury, Gerard Smith, and many more. Paul Warnke will be presented with the PSR Award for his exceptional contribution to arms control; Hershey Philadelphia Hotel, **through March 16**. *Contact*: PSR, 1601 Connecticut Av NW, Ste 800, Washington, DC 20009 (202) 939-5750.

MARCH 13

ILLINOIS

• **Champaign** Talk, "Working for the Defense Industry," with John Ollinger, former defense industry engineer; University YMCA. *Contact*: Bonnie Thompson, Students For Mutual Arms Reduction Today (SMART) (217) 333-7390.

MARCH 15

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

"Peaceworks," SANE's national election year conference, with workshops, plenary sessions, caucuses, and political lobbying on Capitol Hill, featuring the Rev Jesse Jackson and Rabbi Balfour Brickner; the Washington Hilton, **through March 17**. *Contact*: Julianne Halberstein, SANE, 711 G St SE, Washington, DC 20003 (202) 546-7100.

MARCH 18

NEW YORK

• **New York** Celebration of the fifth anniversary of the founding of the Freeze Campaign, honoring Randall Forsberg and Randy Kehler, and featuring Paul Warnke and others; the Plaza Hotel. Celebrations will also take place in **Boston** and **Chicago**. *Contact*: Glenn Bibler, Downstate New York Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, 351 E 74 St, Ste 402, New York, NY (212) 734-6565 or Jane Sigelbaum, Freeze Campaign (202) 544-0880.

MARCH 19

WASHINGTON

• **Poulsbo** Wednesday Night at Ground Zero, featuring Lucretia Fishburn, Kitsap County deputy prosecuting attorney, talking about "My Thoughts on the June 1985 Nuclear Train Trial;" Holy Week Vigil at the Trident submarine base in Bangor on **March 26**. For information about these and other events, *contact*: Ground Zero Center for Nonviolent Action, 16159 Clear Creek Rd NW, Poulsbo, WA 98370 (206) 692-7053.

MARCH 21

MISSOURI

• **Kansas City** Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR) Symposium, "US/USSR Relations: Where Do We Go From Here?" with a forum of international physicians including Sidney Alexander, president of PSR; John Pastore, secretary of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW); and Dmitri Venedictov, an IPPNW member from the Soviet Union. *Contact*: PSR, PO Box 23055, Kansas City, MO 64141 (816) 931-1822.

MARCH 27

PENNSYLVANIA

• **Philadelphia** Two-day action, with vigil, prayer service, and peace walk, culminating in nonviolent civil disobedience at General Electric's Space Division headquarters in Valley Forge on **March 28**. *Contact*: Brandywine Peace Community, PO Box 81, Swarthmore, PA 19081 (215) 544-1818.

APRIL 3

MISSOURI

• **Warrensburg** Faith and Resistance Retreat and Warrensburg/Whiteman Air Force Base nonviolent action, with Bishop Thomas Gumbleton, nonviolent activist Shelley Douglass, and others. *Contact*: Kansas City Interfaith Peace Alliance, 3031 Holmes St, Kansas City, MO 64109 (816) 923-3663 or (816) 931-1310.

APRIL 5

ILLINOIS

• **Chicago** Conference, "Teaching Nuclear Issues: Problems, Approaches, New Ideas," with Barry M. Casper, Robert Jay Lifton, Roberta Snow and others. *Contact*: The University of Illinois at Chicago, Conferences and Institutes, 912 S Wood St, 2N, m/c 607, Chicago, IL 60612 (312) 996-8025.

APRIL 7

COLORADO

• **Denver** "Concert for Global Harmony," featuring members of the Denver Symphony Orchestra, in a benefit for Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament (WAND) and other members of the Colorado Coalition for the Prevention of Nuclear War. *Contact*: Gina Whitt, WAND, 1133 Penn Av, Denver, CO 80203 (303) 863-9263.

APRIL 10

VIRGINIA

• **Rosslyn** Nuclear war education conference for students, educators, and others interested in curriculum relating to nuclear war and peace issues, with panel discussions, nuclear war films, and more, and featuring Paul Warnke, George Keyworth, Jane Wales and others. *Contact*: Robert Erlich, George Mason University, 4400 University Dr, Fairfax, VA 22030 (703) 323-2303.

APRIL 12

MARYLAND

• **Baltimore** "The Nuts and Bolts of Organizing," survival skills training for activists will promote effectiveness and efficiency and prevent burn-out; University of Maryland Law School. *Contact*: The Maryland Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign (301) 467-6500.

APRIL 16

OHIO

• **Statewide** "Unifying Ohio for Peace," will bring together religious, peace, civic, business, cultural, industrial, labor, educational, and governmental groups in a cooperative project to express what people are *for* rather than against. The event, which will involve 163 Ohio communities, will feature displays of art work and theatrical and musical performances in public places on the theme of "The vision of peace," and will culminate with simultaneous productions of the antinuclear play "Alice In Blunderland" throughout the state on **April 20**. The project has been endorsed by Ohio Governor Richard Celeste and the Ohio state legislature. For more information, *contact*: Leslie Hudak, Legacy Incorporated, 1275 Goldfinch Trail, Stow, OH 44224 (216) 688-1253.

APRIL 17

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

"Lobby Day '86" will bring students together from across the country to lobby for arms control on Capitol Hill. *Contact*: Tina Clarke, United Campuses to Prevent Nuclear War, 220 I St NE, Washington, DC 20002 (202) 543-1505.

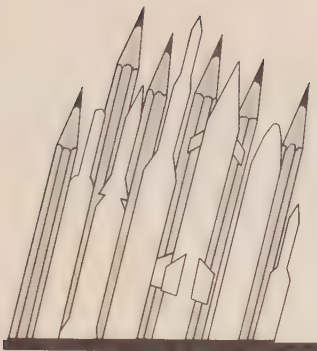
MINNESOTA

• **Minneapolis** "Honeywell Project Action," will feature legal demonstrations and civil disobedience at the Honeywell Corporation to protest its holdings in South Africa and its role in the arms race. *Contact*: The Honeywell Project, 1519 E Franklin Av, Minneapolis, MN 55404 (612) 871-3753.

APRIL 20

IOWA

• **Decorah** "Peace in Our Lives," a week of peace events dealing with the effects of the nuclear arms race on the farm belt and agricultural community, with speakers, lectures, seminars and more; **through April 27**. *Contact*: Becky Dixon, PO Box 2, Decorah, IA 52101 (319) 382-5573 or (319) 382-4875.



DEADLINE

The Press and The Arms Race

MARCH/APRIL 1986

CENTER FOR WAR, PEACE, AND THE NEWS MEDIA

'A Range of Opinion As Narrow As Scarlett O'Hara's Waist'

Questions—dozens of them—were the logical response to Mikhail Gorbachev's surprise offer last January to commence reducing by half the number of nuclear weapons capable of reaching the other superpower's territory; eliminate intermediate-range weapons in Europe; extend the Soviet test ban; and eventually destroy all nuclear weapons by the year 2000.

Might he be serious? Why would he make such an offer? What does it tell us about the new Soviet leader and his arms control agenda? Should both sides even risk the complete elimination of nuclear weapons? Is there a way the U.S. might respond to test the Soviet strategy? Is it worth negotiating S.D.I. to pursue the plan? Should the U.S. join the Soviet moratorium on testing? What might be gained, or lost? And why did the offer take the Reagan administration so much by surprise?

Journalists might have chewed over these questions for weeks, seeking out the views of the arms control community (both left and right), the allies, the grass roots peace movement, scientists, and Soviet scholars, as well as the administration. What we were fed, however, was the administration's view. The range of opinion in the press was as narrow as Scarlett O'Hara's waist. It started with the president's "We're very grateful" for the offer, and moved to tougher assessments that it was utopian, or cynical, or just more propaganda to befuddle the West.

The plan was first reported by television on Wednesday, Jan. 15. What analysis there was appeared on the 15th, 16th and 17th. The Soviets stretched the story through another news cycle on the 18th with a rare Saturday press conference in Moscow. And by the 19th it was gone; the waters of the arms control debate barely rippled. The collective response of the press, with a couple of notable exceptions, was a yawn. The administration's view, including its continuing refusal to join in the test ban, was accepted without debate, let alone challenge. Most of the intriguing questions were never asked.

Below is a brief rundown of how some key newspapers, magazines, and television programs reported the proposal between the 15th and the 19th of January:

CBS aired the views of Senator Richard Lugar and Soviet specialist Dimitri Simes, both opponents of the offer. David Martin, the network's highly-regarded Pentagon and arms control correspondent, thought so little of the proposal that he continued to work on a Weinberger profile rather than cover it the day it was announced.

ABC presented only Senator John Warner, who said it was really the *president's* goal to eliminate nuclear weapons.

NBC restricted its coverage to the views of the Reagan inner circle; other views were filtered through White House correspondent Chris Wallace.

The New York Times relied on a battery of often unnamed sources to present the administration view that the offer's only potential value was in on-site verification procedures and reducing the numbers of European-based missiles. In keeping with its editorial position, the paper paid little attention to the test ban question. In the past three years the *Times* has completely reversed itself on the value of such a ban, now adopting the Reagan administration position that a test ban treaty can only come in the context of a much broader arms control agreement. The *Times* did contribute one noteworthy addition to the debate in the last two paragraphs of a Jan. 17 article by Leslie Gelb, headlined: "Weighing the Soviet Plan." Gelb pointed out that the elimination of nuclear weapons would force American strategic planners to determine how to protect Europe with conventional forces, rather than with nuclear deterrence. Gelb quoted an unnamed administration official as saying that this "forces us to make hard choices that we haven't been willing to make so far."

Washington Post coverage was not much different from the *Times*, the exception being a valuable piece by Walter Pincus on the problems of reducing the long-range nuclear arsenals of the superpowers so as not to leave one of them at a strategic disadvantage. Pincus also gave voice to outsider William Colby, who endorsed the Gorbachev proposal as a serious step. He was one of the very few Americans outside the Reagan inner circle to be quoted with anything good to say about the proposal.

Newsweek did not even lead its "International" section with the offer, tilting instead to the Philippines.

INSIDE:

The Weinberger Letter: Anatomy of a Leak • Musical Chairs on the Interview Shows • Suppose They Held a Summit and No Reporters Came • Tales from the Deep Background Woods

U.S. News & World Report gave it only three columns. On the administration's unwillingness to join the moratorium, the magazine quoted Weinberger as saying that the U.S. will have to keep testing "because unfortunately there are nuclear weapons in the world"; this is a state of affairs that would seem to apply to the Soviets, too, rendering the secretary's logic impenetrable, but *U.S. News* editors let the remark stand unchallenged.

Time at least took the proposal seriously. The editors presented an excellent graphic that explained the offer and set forth the problems it poses for the American side. *Time* also published a useful box on previous diplomatic efforts to rid the world of nuclear weapons. Like its brethren, however, the magazine did not quote a single American who questioned the Reagan response.

"Nightline," which pounces on every major story as if it were a hostage crisis, ignored this one entirely. Of greater urgency were shows on premature infants and a boy and his gorilla. Similarly, all three Sunday morning network news interview shows on the 19th found other subjects more worthy.

"The MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour" provided somewhat more breadth in presenting interviews with Soviet expert Marshall Shulman of the Harriman Institute at Columbia University and David Aaron, former deputy national security advisor.

The Boston Globe was the most open to debate. Reporter Richard Higgins presented the views of Dr. Bernard Lown, a co-founder of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, winner of the 1985 Nobel Peace Prize. Lown urged that the proposal not be written off as propaganda, particularly the test ban moratorium. Reporter Fred Kaplan provided a blunt analysis of why the U.S. has refused to join in the test ban moratorium. "[T]he Reagan administration wants to develop a new generation of nuclear weapons," Kaplan wrote. He then attacked the administration's stated reasons for rejecting the moratorium and described the specific weapons the U.S. is testing.

The Gorbachev proposal is now, presumably, being discussed in Geneva, beyond the reach of public debate. Doubtless the administration will eventually call in the press to tell us what we need to know when we need to know it.

—David M. Rubin

Playing Musical Chairs on the Network News Interview Shows

You need only follow the odyssey of two men to capture the full breadth and diversity of the guests discussing arms control and U.S.–Soviet relations on the five major television interview programs. Last Nov. 10, Dr. Roald Sagdeyev, director of the Soviet Union's Institute of Space Research, appeared on ABC's "This Week." That same Sunday morning, Secretary of State George Shultz held forth on CBS's "Face the Nation." The following week, Shultz went to "This Week" and Sagdeyev to NBC's "Meet the Press." The next evening Shultz appeared on ABC's "Nightline." Three nights later, Sagdeyev followed. On Sunday, Nov. 17, while Shultz appeared on "Meet the Press," Sagdeyev rested.

On "This Week," "Face the Nation," "Meet the Press," "Nightline," and "The MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour," 50 of the 82 guests between Nov. 3 and Dec. 10 were current or former U.S. government officials. Journalists ranked a distant third with 16 appearances, followed by ten Soviet officials and six academics. Thus, 61 percent of the guests were current or former government officials. Spokesmen for the unorthodox left and right were nowhere to be found on these programs. Conservative and liberal activists were also absent.

While the range of groups represented was numbingly narrow, different programs used more guests from one particular group than others. "Meet the Press," the lowest-rated Sunday interview program, drew eight of its ten guests from the pool of current and former government officials. "This Week," the highest-rated Sunday interview program, used more Soviet and academic guests than its counterparts. And nine of the 29 guests on "MacNeil/Lehrer" were journalists.

Insiders and former insiders not only repeated each other, they often repeated themselves. The former undersecretary of state, Lawrence Eagleburger, told "Nightline" viewers on Nov. 18 that the ability to verify arms control agreements "is terribly important," and agreed with former Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, who also appeared on the program, that technology "makes verification much more difficult." Three evenings later on "Nightline," Eagleburger still thought verification was "terribly important" and agreed just as strongly with McNamara, appearing that night on "Nightline" for the third time that week, that as weapons become more sophisticated, verification becomes "more difficult."

"Nightline" was the first program to use Soviet officials regularly, but the Soviets were particularly conspicuous on all the news talk shows before and during the Geneva summit. Disarmament and freeze advocates used to voice the opposing view on these programs, but the role of administration critic has increasingly fallen to the Soviets as the political influence of the peace movement has waned. The high profile that former and current officials have on these shows represents a tradeoff between insider expertise and the broader range of views outsiders might present. Soviet guests, however, offer the worst of both worlds—the self-serving government official and the uninformed outsider.

Georgy Arbatov, a Central Committee member, was the highest-ranking Soviet guest seen on the news interview programs. Nonetheless, when he appeared on "Face the Nation," Nov. 10, he revealed his outsider status in the Soviet policy-making process, frequently prefacing his remarks with, "As far as I know" or "Well, I imagine" or "I don't know anything about

that." And even when Arbatov had critical information, he played the reticent insider. Asked whether Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev would bring new arms control proposals to the Geneva summit, Arbatov said he would "never spill it before TV."

Unfortunately, it is inevitable that American and Soviet officialdom dominate the guest lists of these shows because they produce only two types of programs. During a heavy news week, players and former players analyze a single event, like the Geneva summit. During a slow news week, a wider range of guests may discuss an issue of longstanding, but not pressing, interest, as on "Face the Nation" 's Nov. 3 broadcast on civil rights. ("Face the Nation" seems to place the highest premium on issue shows.)

While arms control and U.S.–Soviet relations present a number of longstanding controversial issues, these subjects are treated as hard news, pegged to breaking events like the summit. Administration officials play a large role in such shows because the programs' producers allow the news and the officials who make it to dictate the selection of guests. When one event dominates the news, says Karen Sughrue, executive producer of "Face the Nation," "all the shows are after the same people. Some weeks you come out on top. Some weeks you don't. A number of people go on the shows on a rotation basis. Some decide depending on who called first. Some decide on a whim."

Still, this gives the programs considerable leeway in choosing who represents opposing views. On "Face the Nation," "This Week" and "Nightline," however, the selection process is centralized in the hands of the shows' anchors and producers. And the veteran journalists who host these programs—Lesley Stahl on "Face the Nation," David Brinkley on "This Week" and Ted Koppel on "Nightline"—have a pretty clear idea about whom they want to hear from around summit time. When "Nightline" went looking for one guest to appear on the show throughout the week of the summit, the list was kept to former government officials because "Ted was much more comfortable with a former player," according to "Nightline" booking producer Steve Lewis. Even three of the four journalists who appeared on "Nightline" had passed through the revolving door between the press and official Washington.

The news talk shows feature the same sources you'll find in the daily newspapers because these programs are as much about journalism as they are about the events journalists cover. The journalism focus is inherent in the format itself, which brings the process of big-name reporters grilling administration officials into nearly eight million living rooms across America every Sunday morning. On each of these shows, guests of opposing views appear separately, one after the other, like the succeeding paragraphs in a newspaper story that pit the prevailing insider viewpoint against the opposing insider viewpoint.

Journalists and journalism often provide the substance of these programs, too, particularly on "Nightline" and "This Week." "Nightline" did two shows during the week of the summit, not about the summit, but about how journalists were covering it. On "This Week," the real debate doesn't take place between the guests—they never even square off face-to-face. It's the journalists questioning them who do the debating—the tough-minded liberal Sam Donaldson, the sage man of the center David Brinkley and the Tory conservative George Will.

Moreover, the shows may be real news, newspaper news. Between Nov. 3 and Dec. 15, *The Washington Post* ran three Monday morning front-page stories based on reporting their TV colleagues did on Sunday. *The*

For Another View, Dial...

Following are the names and phone numbers of just a few thoughtful experts who could add considerable dimension to news programs on U.S.–Soviet relations and nuclear issues:

Hardliners: *Martin Malia*, an historian at the University of California, Berkeley, and specialist in modern Russia—(415) 642-1971; *Colin Gray*, president of the National Institute for Public Policy—(703) 698-0563.

Centrists: *Thomas Remington*, professor of Soviet politics at Emory University—(404) 727-6566; *Leon Wieseltier*, literary editor of *The New Republic* and supporter of deterrence—(202) 331-7494.

Detente Advocates: *Alexander Dallin*, a Soviet scholar at Stanford University—(415) 497-4514; *Robert C. Johansen*, a senior fellow at the World Policy Institute in New York City—(212) 490-0010; *Tom Powers*, Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist now writing a book on nuclear strategy—(802) 763-7439.

Peace Movement: *Randall Forsberg*, president of the Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies—(617) 734-4216; *E.P. Thompson*, a British social historian and member of the coordinating committee of European Nuclear Disarmament, whose views are equally unwelcome in Washington and Moscow—(011) 44-905-423-376.

While many of these experts are based in inconvenient locales for Washington television appearances, booking producers won't know whether they are willing to travel to Washington until they call. Similarly, booking producers may wonder whether these people can communicate on television. Again, they won't know until they try. But they should note that Remington appears frequently on CNN, Dallin appeared occasionally on the Sunday interview programs in the 'sixties, and it wasn't so long ago that Randall Forsberg appeared regularly on television when the peace movement was big news.

Additional names on request—(212) 598-7804.

—*T.K.*

New York Times frequently gets a story out of these programs, too, but usually fills it out with additional reporting.

The journalism focus of "This Week" and "Nightline" makes very good television. It's no accident they're the most popular of all the news talk shows; they're the most interesting. But they and the other programs could broaden the policy debate on arms control and U.S.–Soviet relations beyond its narrow official boundaries. Instead, they short-circuit the democratic process the same way the major dailies do. Like newspapers, these programs seldom present the full range of possible viewpoints in the debate on arms control; only the official players get heard. (For some non-official options, see box on page 3.)

During the Carter era, when the administration was under attack from both the left and right, a broad range of views—from opponents of the MX to advocates of American nuclear superiority—participated vocally in the nuclear debate. And they found a place on the news interview shows. During the Reagan era, however, the whole spectrum has moved so far to the right that Robert McNamara now represents the left wing of the nuclear debate in official circles and on the news talk shows. To be sure, McNamara is extremely articulate and knowledgeable, but he's also the man who brought flexible response to American nuclear policy.

—Tony Kaye

Consider the Source: A Survey of National Security Reporters

Physicists at the national laboratories "don't worry about a comprehensive test ban as a real possibility. What worries them is that the limit [on testing] will be lowered. [They] are positively reluctant to examine what can be done at low yields because they fear a self-fulfilling prophecy," according to _____.

A. an administration source
B. a nuclear weapons scientist
C. a test ban proponent
D. a test ban opponent
E. Ray E. Kidder, a physicist at the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory

The correct answer, *mirabile dictu*, is E. Mr. Kidder's name was actually attached to this revealing quote by reporters Leslie Gelb and Michael Gordon in an Oct. 4, 1985, *New York Times* story ("U.S. Summit Stance: Nuclear Testing Will Go On"). Opposition to a nuclear test ban, or to testing at lower yields, apparently extends from the White House all the way down to the national laboratories. The evidence comes not from some faceless "source" who might be in favor of testing, or against testing, or just courting the *Times*, but from a live Livermore specimen.

On the arms control beat, however, on-the-record sources like Kidder have become rarer than a $2.99 Air Force screwdriver. Usually the reader must stumble around in the Deep Background Woods, trying to identify a real person behind the White House sources and administration officials who lurk among the trees.

A piece by William Beecher, *The Boston Globe*'s diplomatic correspondent, illustrates the problem. In a page-one story on Oct. 30, Beecher described how Secretary of State George Shultz intended to make two arms control proposals to the Soviets before the November summit, both of which were still being hotly debated within the administration. Beecher's sources ranged from "American analysts" to a "White House official." Not one person was quoted by name in the piece's 22 paragraphs.

For reasons of either convenience of perceived necessity, reporters on the arms control beat now routinely conceal their sources from readers. To measure how pervasive this practice has become, we examined the work of eleven newspaper reporters who spend part or all of their time on the arms control beat. We took as a sample their news stories published in October 1985 on arms negotiation and U.S.–Soviet relations. We excluded opinion pieces and stories they wrote on other subjects.

We divided their sources into two categories: named and unnamed. Each named source was counted only once in a story, even if that source was quoted more than once. The same procedure was used for counting the various cloaks draped over unnamed sources. "Administration officials" counted only once in a story, even if used a dozen times. (This method probably underestimates the number of different anonymous sources consulted, since many people can be hidden behind the word "officials," but it accurately counts the number of named sources.)

We noted any additional information provided about unnamed sources that might reveal their qualifications or biases. We also were alert for the appearance of more Ray Kidders—named sources other than the usual run of official spokespersons, such as Larry Speakes of the White House or Bernard Kalb at the Department of State.

For most reporters, providing identities has become the exception, not the rule (see table, opposite). *The Boston Globe*'s Fred Kaplan named his sources more than 70 percent of the time; his colleague Beecher only 17.5 percent. Of the 11 reporters studied, seven cloaked their sources more than half the time, and 10 did so more than 40 percent of the time. Most have fallen into a pattern of sourcing that is as identifiable as animal tracks in the snow. Below are brief descriptions of these patterns for some of the reporters.

While Fred Kaplan was the most likely to name his sources, many of them (at least in October) were either from Congress (where everyone likes to talk) or the community of experts outside government (where pub-

licity is the coin of the realm). Kaplan did not pull a Kidder out of his hat during this period, but at least his readers always knew where in the forest of sources they were.

Johanna Neuman's stories were usually recountings of public statements or on-the-record briefings. If October is typical, she does little of the enterprising reporting undertaken by Kaplan, Gelb, Walter Pincus of *The Washington Post*, or Robert Toth of *The Los Angeles Times*. She has a disconcerting habit of attributing direct quotes to collective nouns, such as "the Administration" (Oct. 9). This habit is particularly annoying in stories about disarray in the Reagan administration's formation of arms control policy. What faction in the administration is Neuman quoting? Often she cited no source at all, simply presenting on her own authority information that other reporters attributed to sources, named and unnamed. This technique saves words in the tightly-edited *USA Today*, but it makes understanding the arms control beat even more difficult. Would the editors put this in their celebrated sports section: " 'We're going to convert pitcher Dwight Gooden into a first baseman this spring,' the New York Mets said today," without ever identifying which club official made the statement?

For Leslie Gelb, October was an unusual month. He was on assignment in Moscow and the Soviets permitted a number of high-ranking political, military, and economic officials to speak to him on the record. Thus, his relatively high percentage of named sources may be atypical. In these stories from Moscow, plus the Oct. 4 "Kidder" piece, he named an assortment of sources who are actually in power, not just spokespersons. The only other reporter in our sample who put the views of so many top level officials on the record was Walter Pincus. However, Gelb rarely provides much detail about his unnamed sources, and he occasionally submerges these sources deep behind the veil of "the U.S." or "the Soviet Union" (Oct. 18).

Walter Pincus filed about half his stories from the Geneva arms talks in October. The high percentage of unnamed sources in these stories reflects the reluctance of negotiators below the top level to go on the record. But he did manage to quote directly team leaders Max Kampelman and Victor Karpov. Next to Gelb, Pincus was the most skilled at convincing high-level officials to go on the record. Pincus is comparatively specific when he quotes anonymous sources; he rarely resorts to such useless tags as "government officials." He does not, however, provide as much information about anonymous sources as Lou Cannon, his colleague at the *Post*.

Despite heavy reliance on unnamed sources, Cannon took the greatest pains to provide readers with clues to their trustworthiness. In an Oct. 6 story, he quoted "one Reagan associate familiar with the way Reagan bargains," and "one Republican congressman who thinks SDI might be useful in protecting U.S. missile installations." On Oct. 23, he cited "a senior administration official who usually emphasizes the importance of arms control" (in the context of an article on how arms control was being downplayed for the summit agenda). This sort of sourcing is more valuable to readers than the vague maunderings of his colleagues.

The supposed sensitivity of arms control information and the hostility of the Reagan administration to the free flow of information in general have made sources skittish. At the same time, journalists have become lazy in permitting these sources to get away with their hit and run tactics. Occasionally, reporters have revolted against excessive deep backgrounding, but the problem is now so severe that a different approach to covering arms control might be more productive. Instead of working the phones and depending on interviews with unnamed sources, journalists ought to place more emphasis on testimony, reports, books, articles and other pieces of documentary evidence, with names attached.

The Gospel According to . . .

The table below traces the sourcing habits of eleven national security correspondents during the pre-summit month of October 1985. ART=number of articles written that month dealing with arms negotiations and U.S.–Soviet relations; SN=number of sources named; %N=percentage of sources named; SU=number of sources unnamed; %U=percentage of sources unnamed.

REPORTER	ART	SN	%N	SU	%U
Fred Kaplan *The Boston Globe*	10	30	71.4	12	28.5
Johanna Neuman *USA Today*	7	13	59.1	9	40.9
Walter Andrews *The Washington Times*	6	15	57.7	11	42.3
Frederick Kempe *The Wall Street Journal*	4	17	51.5	16	48.5
James Gerstenzang *The Los Angeles Times*	8	14	45.1	17	54.8
Leslie Gelb *The New York Times*	7	26	44.1	33	55.9
Robert Toth *The Los Angeles Times*	9	23	42.5	31	57.4
Bernard Weinraub *The New York Times*	10	18	34.6	34	65.3
Walter Pincus *The Washington Post*	10	24	28.2	61	71.7
Lou Cannon *The Washington Post*	8	14	26.9	38	73.1
William Beecher *The Boston Globe*	8	7	17.5	33	82.5

—Karen Wishod

For example, take "The Maritime Strategy" by Adm. James D. Watkins, an article published by the U.S. Naval Institute. Watkins acknowledged that in a non-nuclear conflict with the Soviet Union, the U.S. Navy might first seek to attack Soviet subs carrying nuclear weapons—a strategy that could turn conflict into a nuclear exchange. Excerpts from this article were published by *The New York Times* on Jan. 12, 1986. They revealed more detail about current strategy than any number of breathless blind quotes. Many other documents—such as the recent Office of Technology Assessment study of S.D.I.—have also proved their genuine news value.

With arms negotiations under way in Geneva, the public should not have to wait for Strobe Talbott to identify the players in *Deadly Gambits II*. If a deadlock over arms reductions occurs, it will not be caused by "sources close to the President." —*D.M.R.*

AP Carrier Pigeon

ON JAN. 14, DEFENSE SECRETARY Casper W. Weinberger appeared on ABC's "Nightline" and raised alarms about the launching of the Soviet Union's first full-scale aircraft carrier. The next day, the Pentagon dutifully issued an announcement elaborating on the development. Norman Black, military writer for The Associated Press, swallowed the company line whole.

In a 605-word story that went out to thousands of newspapers and broadcast outlets nationwide, Black relayed Weinberger's "Nightline" insistence that the carrier gives the Soviets "much greater ability to project their power than they've had before." Black also uncritically reported Weinberger's claim that the carrier would probably be fully operational in four years.

Black further quoted Weinberger as saying that, though the U.S.S.R. already has carriers, they are smaller than the new one and only equipped for planes that can take off and land vertically. But the new carrier, Weinberger asserted, " 'will start giving the Soviets capability to engage in conflict and aggression much farther from their shores in a way that will challenge very severely our own naval strength.' "

In contrast, Bill Keller of *The New York Times* brought a skepticism to the story, providing his readers with views challenging the administration. Keller's sources questioned both the carrier's purpose and operational timetable. "In private," he wrote, "some United States Navy analysts have . . . belittled the idea that the Soviet carrier would be used far from home." Brookings Institution fellow Michael K. MccGwire, a specialist in Soviet naval affairs, told Keller that the Soviet Union has "always treated its navy as an extra layer to protect its homeland in a general war against the United States."

Keller also referred to comments made last year in a report on Soviet naval developments by Chief of Naval Operations Adm. James D. Watkins, who said " 'it could be about 10 years before the new carrier and its air group are capable of operating proficiently.' "

The AP provided the carrier story in a contextual void. Keller's readers learned that the Pentagon announcement (of information at least one year old) paralleled Weinberger's renewed campaign to persuade Congress to preserve the buildup of a navy that already has 13 operational full-scale carriers.

—*Sylvia Steinert*

Anatomy of a Leak

Air Force One had climbed above Washington in the morning sunshine, but the sky was dark by the time Robert McFarlane made his way to the seats where the press pool was keeping watch during the flight to Geneva. Larry Speakes had already been back before him, handing out the schedule for the trip and talking to the five reporters about the president's mood ("upbeat"), popularity ("extraordinarily high"), and plans for a joint appearance with Mikhail Gorbachev at the end of the summit ("we've had discussions"). In the words of the report that pool members later composed for the rest of the White House press, Speakes also "expressed irritation" that Caspar Weinberger's letter to the President urging him not to compromise on SALT II and the ABM treaty had found its way into *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* that morning. It had all the earmarks of a Pentagon leak, he seemed to suggest; in any case, "the President would have preferred to read it in the privacy of the Oval Office."

A couple of hours passed before McFarlane wandered back to the pool. The national security advisor stood in the aisle and chatted with the group—Helen Thomas, UPI; Michael Putzel, AP; James McCartney, Knight-Ridder; Gary Schuster, CBS; and Morton Kondracke, *Newsweek*. McFarlane had spent a year in Geneva between tours in Vietnam and he seemed to be feeling sentimental, Putzel said later. "He was unusually relaxed and sort of warm and personal. We chatted about his addiction to chocolate, how nice it was going back to Geneva, where he had a favorite chocolate shop. He

was standing there talking to us, and my impression is that he was about to leave—when Helen asked him."

Seated across from Putzel, Thomas had been thinking about the leak of the Weinberger letter. She turned to McFarlane and, repeating a charge quoted in the last paragraph of the *Times* story, asked if the leak was "sabotage."

"When Helen asked him, he sort of stopped short," Putzel recalls. "He paused and thought for a moment. Then he turned and said, 'On background: Sure it was.' Then, *very* hastily, he turned on his heel and walked to the front. You could see his eyes narrow when he said it. I wouldn't call it fury, but his eyes narrowed."

"Wow!" Thomas remembers thinking, not "the usual pap . . . You know, I said, 'Oh my goodness, that's it,' and I think we all felt we had gotten something definitive."

Following pool custom, Putzel picked up a phone and called the Washington bureaus of both wire services with an account of the conversation. Kondracke and McCartney prepared a 600 word report on the flight for distribution when the pool caught up with the White House press, which had almost an hour's head start on the trip to Geneva. The report identified Speakes and McFarlane as the two administration officials who had talked to the pool on the flight, but in the ninth paragraph, where it reported the "sabotage" question, the answer was attributed solely to a "senior American official."

In Washington, the wire services went to work rewriting Putzel's dictation and getting reactions from other officials. "We recognized that it was a significant story," says Charles J. Lewis, The Associated Press' Washington bureau chief. "There were a lot of people running around the world saying that the release of the Weinberger letter was going to do serious damage. Everybody was interested in the motive of the leaker. That's why the comments from Air Force One received such attention."

By the time the White House press straggled into the Intercontinental Hotel at about 10 p.m. Geneva time, stories pegged to the "sabotage" comment had already gone out over the wires. Before reporters reached the press center set up in the hotel ballroom, the UPI story was already up on the board where wire copy was hung. The story began:

> ABOARD AIR FORCE ONE, NOV. 16 (UPI) — A TOP ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL SATURDAY ACCUSED SOMEONE IN THE U.S. GOVERNMENT OF TRYING TO SABOTAGE THE SUPERPOWER SUMMIT BY LEAKING CONFIDENTIAL ADVICE FROM DEFENSE SECRETARY CASPAR WEINBERGER URGING PRESIDENT REAGAN TO TAKE A TOUGH LINE ON SOVIET TREATY VIOLATIONS.

Although most of the hundred journalists who made their way to the room had not yet noticed the story, some of them soon got calls about it from their editors, and word of the sabotage comment spread quickly. As they settled into their seats at the long, felt-covered tables facing a podium and TV monitors, the reporters were already talking about the White House reaction. Some of the more restless went to the board and started taking notes off the UPI story, but the television sets soon flickered on with a live feed of the president's arrival at the Geneva airport, and all eyes turned to the business at hand. It was not long after the screens again went dark that a White House staff member appeared with a stack of the pool reports, placed it on a table near the door, and retreated demurely. There followed a dignified but determined scramble for copies. Now, everybody had the story.

Word was already out that McFarlane was the man behind the sabotage remark, and everyone realized that the national security advisor and the press secretary had pumped life into what might otherwise have been something of a one-day affair. But members of the White House press corps now jumped on the story the way they would be jumping on others all week—and they did so together.

The next morning, Larry Speakes had the first word during his opening statement at the 11 a.m. briefing when he said the Weinberger letter had merely restated views already well known to the president. But he only succeeded in whetting everyone's appetite for more. The questions then came flying from both the front rows and the nether reaches of the room. Are the administration's positions on SALT II and the ABM treaty really unchanged? What was the president's response to the letter? Has he ordered an investigation of the leak? *Did* you imply that the leak came from the Pentagon? Do you agree with the Soviets that the leak was an attempt to torpedo the talks? Aren't all the questions here at this briefing proof that the letter *is* damaging the summit?

Parrying, feinting, thrusting, the press tried to find its way into the story, probing for its significance, looking for a quote, watching for a slip, but by 11:50, when Speakes left the podium, the press had little to show for its efforts. A lid was clearly on the reaction story, and the press secretary was responding to the letter itself by reiterating the president's views on SALT II and the ABM treaty. The letter had changed nothing, went the message, and based on what they had learned at the briefing, reporters had found scant cause to doubt it.

Ronald Reagan himself was responsible for breathing life into the story that afternoon, during an exchange with pool reporters at the Maison de Saussure. Asked about the sabotage comment, he frowned, then said, "I'm wondering if that individual is not a figment of someone in the press' imagination." The remark offended many in the White House press who already realized that revealing McFarlane's name would help their audience make sense of the story. Now the president himself had thrown down the gauntlet.

It was Tom Brokaw who picked it up first. One of those interviewing McFarlane on "Meet the Press" later that afternoon, Brokaw turned immediately to the letter. He described it, repeated the sabotage remark of "a senior administration official," and then gently

demanded, "Were you that senior administration official?" McFarlane didn't answer but instead criticized the press for ignoring the historical significance of the summit.

"I was a little angry that Reagan had said it was a figment of our imagination about an hour before," Brokaw said in Geneva. "I thought McFarlane was being very disingenuous 24 hours later. And, frankly, I thought that everybody deserved to know that for all the contrivance about this unified team here, there were serious differences within the administration. I really thought I could have gone on and kicked him in the teeth by saying, why don't you just tell everybody that it was you, and that ran through my mind at that point. But then I thought, how far can you go?"

By Sunday evening, the strands of the story were coming together. Reporters who had been working their administration sources all seemed to be getting much the same thing: the letter was nothing new, the leak was unfortunate, the president's views were unchanged. Speakes and McFarlane had used the day's briefings to make the same points, and administration spokesmen had sent the identical message to reporters (delivered within hours through White House transcripts) during their appearances on the three Sunday morning news shows.

Although the leak of the letter had compelled the administration to restate its position on SALT II and the ABM treaty on the eve of the summit, without information about who had leaked the letter the motive of the leaker remained a mystery and the conflict-in-the-administration angle became harder to sustain. The day's work had also convinced such people as R.W. Apple, Jr., of *The New York Times,* that "Mr. Weinberger's positions on the two questions coincide with those of the White House." What was left to report was the intensity of the day itself, which is what Chris Wallace, among others, conveyed: "Whatever they did today, the President and his men couldn't get away from the Weinberger letter," he told his viewers.

But all the digging had turned over enough ground to persuade some reporters that McFarlane's identity could now be disclosed. As Jack Nelson put it, "I don't think you can have the national security assistant to the president pissing all over the defense secretary—which is essentially what he was doing—without its coming out." Nelson did not name him, "But," he says, "if you had any sense at all and you read my story you would know that it was him." Carl Leubsdorf of *The Dallas Morning News* wrote that evidence was "pointing" to McFarlane, Bernard Weinraub of *The New York Times* volunteered nothing in his stories and did not get queried by his desk, while Walter Pincus would publish McFarlane's name in *The Washington Post* on Tuesday. Tom Brokaw never answered his own question for NBC viewers ("We just danced around it," he says).

By Monday, the story had almost disappeared in Geneva. Larry Speakes, who had been forced to spend most of his briefing on the subject the day before, that morning disposed of it in just a few minutes. McFarlane, Donald Regan and George Shultz were asked about the letter during their appearances on all the Monday morning news shows, but the questions were *pro forma* references to the story rather than attempts to advance it. Forty-eight hours after it had begun, the storm over the Weinberger letter had blown itself out.

The press, it could be said, had simply amused itself for two days and had then gone on to the latest spot news (Gorbachev's arrival) or administration gaffe (Donald Regan's misogynistic views). This notion was implicit in the stories of such critics as Don Kowet, of *The Washington Times,* who thought the letter should not have been covered, and Jonathan Alter, of *Newsweek,* who wrote that the press had magnified "a one-day 'inside the beltway' Washington story" into an international incident. *Time*'s commentary on summit coverage duly conjured up the image of "the pack."

From Geneva, however, the story appeared in a different light: The press, it seemed, had taken an event, scrutinized it, evaluated its meaning, and determined its significance. If the process was neither elegant nor efficient, it was, in the end, effective—because reporters learned as much as they could in the hothouse that was Geneva.

The unanimity of judgment and uniformity of behavior conjured up the notion that the pack, as Timothy Crouse put it in his classic book on the subject, was "yapping at full cry" in Geneva. But such criticism presumes that the facts concerning the event were inexhaustible and that reporters were bound to find unique ways of passing on what they had learned. It also assumes that good journalism is always an individual and competitive enterprise, and that those stories which are similar to one another are necessarily inferior to those which are not.

Although popular in one form or another, these ideas have little bearing on what most reporters went to Geneva to do. They went to decide. As Chris Wallace put it: "Everybody has different markers, but everybody will make a judgment as to—was there a significant improvement?" Such political judgments were not the solitary acts that both the critics of the press and reporters themselves imagine true journalism to be. They were shared decisions, based on common information, enunciated by individuals in their own terms. The noise of "the pack at full cry" was in fact the sound of the press corps making up its mind.

—Robert Karl Manoff

NBC's Food for Thought At the Geneva Summit

THE *NBC NEWSLETTER* CALCULATES that the network's Geneva staff drank 15,500 cups of coffee and tea over the five days of the summit last November. The house organ put 150 personnel at the scene, so that's roughly 20 cups per person per day. Even if 200 staffers toiled in Geneva, as NBC's own Jim Bitterman reported on the air Nov. 19, the cup count still comes to about 15 per person per day. This seems high, even for the over-stimulated world of big-time television. Especially since the NBC 150/200 also knocked back 1,713 Cokes.

On the other hand, they may have needed all that drink to wash down the array of comestibles spread on the company's groaning board. This included, reports the newsletter, 2,000 croissants, 2,000 danish, 8,700 rolls, 445 pounds of cold cuts (not counting 20 sides of beef), 20 Norwegian smoked salmon, 26 chickens, 24 hams, 8 pork loins, 88 pounds of bacon, 375 sirloins, 1,500 pounds of potatoes and 300 jars of mustard. For dessert there were 120 cakes, 24 bowls of chocolate mousse and 720 French pastries. In five days, NBC's chefs cracked or hard-boiled 10,800 eggs.

Because NBC chose to go public with its formidable menu, we fear a serious gastronomic escalation may take place when catering is arranged for the next summit. In the hotly competitive kitchen of network television, ABC and CBS will be under fierce pressure from hard-liners to mount an all-out bun build-up. Unless all three networks show restraint, this culinary spiral could lead to a full-fledged cold-cuts war.

—R.P.

Getting it Right in Philly

ACCORDING TO *THE WASHINGTON Times*, "West Germany will join U.S. in 'star wars'." Ditto, *The San Diego Union* ("Germans reported ready to help with 'star wars' "), *The Boston Globe* ("West Germany reported set to sign 'star wars' pact") and *USA Today* ("West Germany: 'Star wars' treaty hinted"). Yet *The Philadelphia Inquirer* announced, "Bonn aide: No 'Star Wars' pact."

The headlines above were all based on UPI and AP coverage of remarks by Volker Ruehe, a senior member of the Christian Democratic Party, on Dec. 8, 1985. The first four headlines implied that West Germany had joined Britain as part of the European "Star Wars" research team. However, a reading of the articles showed that only the *Inquirer*'s headline was accurate. Chancellor Helmut Kohl does not have majority parliamentary support for a government agreement to work on S.D.I. development. Instead, West Germany is working to negotiate a *commercial* agreement to allow companies to participate in research. "Star Wars" has received no official backing from the West German government, and even the commercial contract has yet to be formalized.

—Pamela Supplee

Minute by Minute With the Nightly News Shows

DAN RATHER, PETER JENNINGS and Tom Brokaw may worry about arms control as much as the rest of us. If they do, however, their nightly network news programs barely reflect it. Between last Sept. 15 and Jan. 7, CBS, ABC and NBC each had approximately 1,800 non-commercial minutes to fill on their 7 p.m. shows Monday through Friday. To the general subject of arms control, ABC devoted a total of 24:30 minutes (1.3 percent), CBS 22:20 (1.2 percent) and NBC 18:30 (0.99 percent). As for the "Star Wars" story, ABC gave it a total of 26:20 minutes (1.4 percent), NBC 23:00 (1.3 percent) and CBS 14:30 (0.77 percent). These wan figures prevailed despite the megaminutes clocked on the two subjects during the November summit. As they say in the trade, the stories just aren't visual.

—K.W.

Suppose They Held a Summit and No Reporters Came

The question of bias in the press is itself biased toward a single possibility: that journalists will allow their own political views to creep into the news. In fact, the press is biased in many other ways, not least in its decision to cover or not cover a story, to say what shall and shall not be considered news. Here a remarkably broad consensus exists about when news is made and how it should be framed, a level of agreement so firmly embedded in practice that it seems almost out of the hands of the press.

"Pack journalism" is the most obvious result of this deep-level consensus. Why were more than 3,000 journalists accredited at the Geneva summit? Was it because each had an important contribution to make to summit coverage? Did each represent a different "point of view," or have a different audience with unique information needs? Obviously not. The reason so many journalists showed up has nothing to do with differences in function, since the great majority of them were performing the same function. It can only be explained by some deeply-held belief shared by all present, some definition of "the press" as an institution which, if accepted, led

inescapably to Geneva. Something like this: if you think of yourself as a professional journalist, you want to be where the action is; in November of 1985, the action was at Geneva. So you go. To not go would be to define yourself out of the profession. As NBC News Vice President Timothy Russert put it, "To be out of position on a story like this is not what a first class news organization is all about."

The press did not arrive at Geneva expecting a great deal of news. Neither did anyone else, for that matter. While polls showed that most Americans thought little would come out of Geneva, the Reagan administration went out of its way to downplay its own chances for progress. With this much acknowledged beforehand,

the meaning of the summit was immediately thrown into doubt. Was it a meeting between two world leaders trying to resolve their differences or simply an opportunity to focus world attention on the *effort* to resolve differences?

The press has faced this kind of ambiguity regularly since the rise of television, and it has responded with an ambiguity of its own. It now writes matter-of-fact news stories on the image a leader tries to present, as if impression management were a kind of policy problem no different in kind from immigration or tax matters. The underlying message of this coverage is that politicians are trying to *appear* forceful, or sensitive, or different, and that these efforts are unrelated to actuality. And yet the press routinely cooperates in furnishing the means by which appearances can be managed—by following a candidate around wherever he goes, for example, or showing up en masse at the summit.

The underlying message here is that the events being covered are "real," or at least real enough to warrant a good deal of attention. The press has not really decided whether events like the summit are primarily "about" the publicity they generate, or about real actions in the real world. And so there develops an ambivalent response: the press goes along with the official pretense for the event in deciding that it must attend, then reserves the right to interpret the event cynically—that is, as nothing more than an opportunity for publicity. The cynicism of the press is thus self-produced, an outcome of its willingness to consider certain events newsworthy *by definition*, even where it suspects that little of substance will occur.

By this logic the cynicism of the press does not go far enough. It extends to the motivations of politicians and to all public statements, but not to the definition of the event itself. It would have been possible to define the summit not as a meeting between Reagan and Gorbachev, but as a meeting of camera crews, reporters and government officials called by Reagan and Gorbachev. With this mental shift accomplished, several options would have presented themselves: The press could have chosen not to cover the summit as a major event since there was insufficient cause to expect real news. (Or, even more intriguing, it might have *debated* that issue in a public way. Morley Safer may have opened such a debate by suggesting to Phil Donahue that the summit could be covered by telephone.)

Another possibility: the press could have covered the summit, but not from Geneva—on the grounds that it was primarily a communication event and should therefore be experienced as a series of messages transmitted from Geneva by leaders whose main goal was to send the world a message. After all, most of the correspondents who were present watched the proceedings on Swiss television in special rooms set aside for the press. This calls into question another assumption almost all members of the press share: that to be present at an event like the summit is to be closer to what is really going on. It did not occur to the press to locate this summit anywhere but in Geneva, where it obviously "happened." Yet television brings events into homes so forcefully that, in a sense, they "happen" in millions of locations at once, no matter where they might originate. It would have been altogether possible—even preferable—to report on the summit from a living room in Chevy Chase.

One of the reasons the summit was such "big news" is that the prospects for negotiations seemed to hold such importance for the future of the arms race. Journalists conceive of the arms race as an ongoing issue, a real-life drama in which each event provides a small clue to the outcome of a larger series of events moving through history. To put it as simply as possible, the press looks at the arms race as something that is *happening*, similar to a pennant race in baseball but with much higher stakes. It would be possible, however, to think of the arms race as something which has *happened*. With twenty-five thousand warheads deployed on either side, it is reasonable to conclude that current events, no matter how dramatic, make no difference to the overall situation, which is one of permanent, mutually-assured destruc-

tion. Certainly many students of the arms race take the view that so many missiles are now deployed on both sides that marginal changes are meaningless, whether they involve the adding or subtracting of warheads.

Such an attitude may border on nihilism, but that does not make it irrational or irresponsible as a working assumption. Indeed, there is evidence that this is the majority view. A CBS News/*New York Times* poll conducted in January of 1985 asked people whether the United States and Soviet Union have so many weapons that it doesn't matter how many more are added, or whether new increases could give one side an edge. Sixty percent said increases made no difference.

If accurate, this is an important finding. What it means is that most people do not see the arms race as an unfolding drama whose outcome is slowly revealed. They view it as a permanent condition. About this condition there can be no news, no matter how hard the press works to "inform the public." A public which does not see any difference between one outcome and another cannot be informed, not because it is lazy or foolish, but because it rejects the premise on which news is built: that the way things turn out today affects the shape of things tomorrow.

If this is a defensible line of thought, a reasonable view for a citizen to hold (if not the only possible view), then one can reinterpret events in light of it. The summit, for example, could be seen as a distraction, a method for creating a more manageable (or "newsy") series of events which draws attention away from the fundamentally unmanageable conditions of mutually-assured destruction. Permanent problems are not political problems, for they do not admit of political solutions. In order for a government to portray itself as "in charge" of a problem which has, in effect, moved outside the time dimensions in which traditional politics unfolds, it is necessary to produce a series of more controllable events: to negotiate or not negotiate, to build or not build, to deploy or not deploy.

To the press these decisions represent the making and re-making of policy, about which the public must be informed. But it would be possible to view them as a *simulation* of policy, an effort to restore the newsmaking conditions which prevailed for governments and journalists before the onset of mutually-assured destruction.

If the summit is seen not as an unfolding chapter in arms policy, but as a simulation of policy, then the goals of the U.S. and the Soviet Union could be said to coincide. Both governments have an interest in producing the impression of a manageable problem, and of teamwork in managing it. The press defines the summit as "enemies meeting to talk over their differences" but it would be possible to view it as "co-conspirators meeting to get their stories straight." With this re-ordering of assumptions, the important pole of conflict would cease to be United States v. Soviet Union and become instead

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Superpowers v. The Rest of the World, or, more accurately, The Governments of the Superpowers v. Everybody Else. The summit could have been portrayed not as a conflict between hostile powers with fundamentally different aims, but as a kind of pleading by both governments in front of a world audience—which would again make it more a communication event than a series of negotiations.

The press feels no need to identify or debate the assumptions on which its summit coverage rests because it pretends that it has none: it simply reports what it sees and hears. Not everyone inside or outside the press takes this claim seriously; but it has not been removed from press practice, either. Perhaps a box should appear beside every article on the arms race, the first sentence reading, "The founding assumptions of this piece are . . ."

If that is too drastic a remedy then we at least ought to welcome more differences in coverage. More correspondents ought to refuse to attend events like the summit, choosing instead to write news stories about the event as it was communicated to them. Some ought to go simply to report on what the networks do, defining the summit as primarily a communication event from the outset. Here the most important move would be for print reporters to distinguish themselves as a group from the networks, to pull back and include in the frame of their coverage the relationship between television and government. This would mean upgrading the "media angle" from sidebar status to a central feature of reporting the story.

The way in which summits are covered now is certainly far from useless. What Reagan and Gorbachev actually did—and what they did not do—was duly noted; there was very little inflation of the event beyond the inflated number of journalists who showed up. The opportunity was taken for more penetrating coverage of the Soviet Union, some of which humanized the Russians, most of which did not. Some of the more outrageous Soviet propaganda was shown for what it was. But the problem remains: the meaning of an event like the summit is now too elusive for a single set of assumptions to prevail.

—Jay Rosen

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